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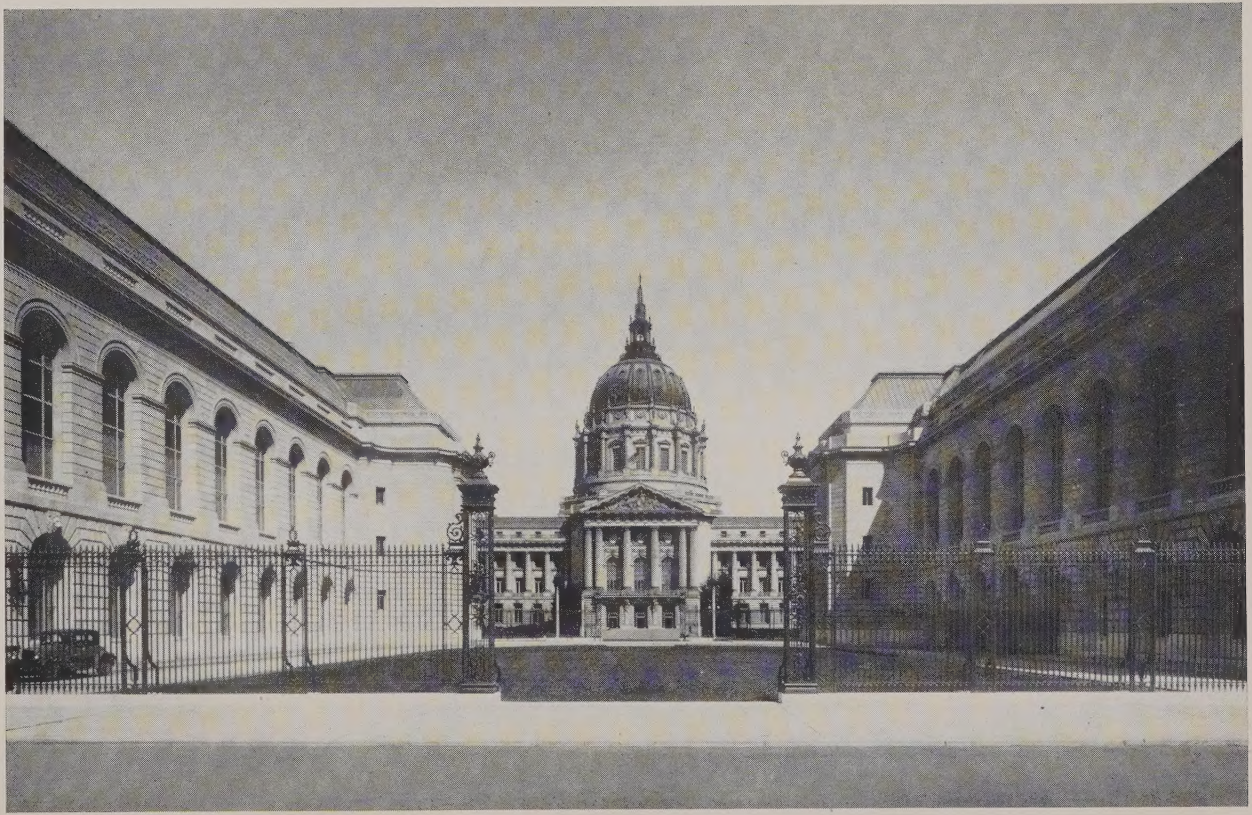

Part of the Civic Center, San Francisco. The Veterans' Building (on left of City Hall) and the Opera House (on right) will house the United Nations Conference. As a result of the ideas to be expressed here, this scene may become a landmark in world history.

Five Contemporary Documents

February 12, 1945

Honorable Roger Lapham
Mayor, City of San Francisco
San Francisco, California

IT IS MY GREAT PLEASURE TO INFORM YOU THAT SAN FRANCISCO HAS BEEN SELECTED AS THE SITE OF THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE TO TAKE PLACE BEGINNING ABOUT APRIL 25, 1945, FOR THE PURPOSE OF PREPARING A CHARTER FOR A UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE WILL GET IN TOUCH WITH YOU IN A DAY OR SO IN ORDER TO CONFER WITH YOU WITH REGARD TO THE NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE CONFERENCE.

JOSEPH C. GREW
Acting Secretary of State

February 12, 1945

Honorable Joseph C. Grew
Acting Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

HAVE RECEIVED YOUR MESSAGE AND I AM VERY HAPPY THAT SAN FRANCISCO HAS BEEN HONORED AS THE SITE OF THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE BEGINNING ABOUT APRIL 25.

I CAN ASSURE YOU THE MAYOR AND THE CITY WILL WELCOME THE REPRESENTATIVES TO THE CONFERENCE AND WILL PLACE AT ITS DISPOSAL ALL THE ASSISTANCE AND COOPERATION THAT WE CAN.

WILL LOOK FORWARD TO MEETING YOUR REPRESENTATIVES WHENEVER THEY ARE READY TO CONFER WITH ME. BEST REGARDS.

ROGER D. LAPHAM
Mayor

The United Nations Conference on International Organization

San Francisco, April 25, 1945

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Union of South Africa
Republic of Syria
The Republic of Turkey
Ukrainian S. S. R.
Oriental Republic of Uruguay
United States of Venezuela
Kingdom of Yugoslavia

The Hostess City—On Another April Day

The Call - Chronicle - Examiner

SAN FRANCISCO, THURSDAY, APRIL 19, 1906

EARTHQUAKE AND FIRE: SAN FRANCISCO IN RUINS

DEATH AND DESTRUCTION HAVE BEEN THE FATE OF SAN FRANCISCO. SHAKEN BY A TEMBLOR AT 5:13 O'CLOCK YESTERDAY MORNING, THE SHOCK LASTING 48 SECONDS, AND SCOURGED BY FLAMES THAT RAGED DIAMETRICALLY IN ALL DIRECTIONS, THE CITY IS A MASS OF SMOULDERING RUINS . . . [T]HE FLAMES . . . JOCKEYED AS THE DAY WANED, LEFT THE BUSINESS SECTION, WHICH THEY HAD ENTIRELY DEVASTATED, AND SKIPPED IN A DOZEN DIRECTIONS TO THE RESIDENCE PORTION. AS NIGHT FELL THEY HAD MADE THEIR WAY OVER INTO THE NORTH BEACH SECTION AND SPRINGING ANEW TO THE SOUTH THEY REACHED OUT ALONG THE SHIPPING SECTION DOWN THE BAY SHORE...

AFTER DARKNESS, THOUSANDS OF THE HOMELESS WERE MAKING THEIR WAY WITH THEIR BLANKETS AND SCANT PROVISIONS TO GOLDEN GATE PARK AND THE BEACH . . . EVERYBODY IN SAN FRANCISCO IS PREPARED TO LEAVE THE CITY, FOR THE BELIEF IS FIRM THAT SAN FRANCISCO WILL BE TOTALLY DESTROYED.

DOWNTOWN EVERYTHING IS RUIN. NOT A BUSINESS HOUSE STANDS. THEATRES ARE CRUMBLED IN HEAPS. FACTORIES AND COMMISSION HOUSES LIE SMOULDERING ON THEIR FORMER SITES. ALL OF THE NEWSPAPER PLANTS HAVE BEEN RENDERED USELESS . . .

ON EVERY SIDE THERE WAS DEATH AND SUFFERING YESTERDAY. HUNDREDS WERE INJURED, EITHER BURNED, CRUSHED OR STRUCK BY FALLING PIECES FROM THE BUILDINGS . . .

AT NINE O'CLOCK, UNDER A SPECIAL MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT, THE CITY WAS PLACED UNDER MARTIAL LAW. HUNDREDS OF TROOPS PATROLLED THE STREETS AND DROVE THE CROWDS BACK, WHILE HUNDREDS MORE WERE SET AT WORK ASSISTING THE FIRE AND POLICE DEPARTMENTS. THE STRICTEST ORDERS WERE ISSUED . . . DURING THE AFTERNOON THREE THIEVES MET THEIR DEATH BY RIFLE BULLETS WHILE AT WORK IN THE RUINS . . .

THE WATER SUPPLY WAS ENTIRELY CUT OFF . . . AND EARLY IN THE MORNING IT WAS SEEN THAT THE ONLY POSSIBLE CHANCE TO SAVE THE CITY LAY IN EFFORT TO CHECK THE FLAMES BY THE USE OF DYNAMITE. DURING THE DAY A BLAST COULD BE HEARD IN ANY SECTION AT INTERVALS OF ONLY A FEW MINUTES, AND BUILD-

INGS NOT DESTROYED BY FIRE WERE BLOWN TO ATOMS. BUT THROUGH THE GAPS MADE, THE FLAMES JUMPED AND ALTHOUGH THE FAILURES OF THE HEROIC . . . POLICE, FIREMEN AND SOLDIERS WERE AT TIMES SICKENING, THE WORK WAS CONTINUED WITH A DESPERATION THAT WILL LIVE AS ONE OF THE FEATURES OF THE TERRIBLE DISASTER. MEN WORKED LIKE FIENDS TO COMBAT THE LAUGHING, ROARING, ONRUSHING FIRE DEMON.

In the same edition appeared a copy of a telegram which came early that morning to Governor Pardee:

IT WAS DIFFICULT TO CREDIT THE NEWS OF THE CALAMITY THAT HAD BEFALLEN SAN FRANCISCO. I FEEL THE GREATEST CONCERN FOR YOU AND THE PEOPLE, NOT ONLY OF SAN FRANCISCO, BUT OF CALIFORNIA IN THE TERRIBLE DISASTER. YOU WILL LET ME KNOW IF THERE IS ANYTHING THAT THE GOVERNMENT CAN DO.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

California In History*

By JOHN D. HICKS

PROFESSOR HERBERT E. BOLTON, with whose name it is appropriate that any article on "California in History" should begin, is fond of saying that the first year a newcomer spends in California he is just a tourist, the second year, a native son, and the third, a damned liar. In my third year as a resident of California I am thus hardly to be trusted, but I am moved to venture some observations none the less. Before my third year I could hardly have known enough to make them; after it, I might not have the nerve.

Two stories of my younger years come to my memory. My paternal grandfather was a pioneer. Born in Greeneville, Tennessee, early in the nineteenth century, he lived in Ohio, Illinois, Minnesota, and finally Missouri. Once, commenting on his father's migratory propensities my father added, to the merriment of his auditors, "And he died hoping to go to California." Well, that put California up the ladder pretty high. Another story comes from my mother whose ancestors, too, were pioneers. A family of neighbors had decided to move to the Pacific Coast, and the night before leaving a four year old remembered it in her prayers. "Good-bye, God," she said. "Tomorrow we leave for California."

To most persons east of the Rockies, California, whether bracketed with heaven or a less-desirable destination, seems a long way off – a remote place, far removed from the busy haunts of men. But California is no longer remote, if, indeed, it ever was, except from a strictly continental point of view. California was remote, yes, if one thought in terms of a covered wagon crossing the Great Plains and the Sierra Nevada during the eighteen forties and fifties, or of a sailing-ship from Boston rounding Cape Horn on the long voyage to San Francisco. But even then it was hardly as remote as some of the westernmost states of the Middle West, states which we now euphemistically call "East." Explorers plied the coasts of California as early as the sixteenth century, European colonists were laying California's foundations before the outbreak of the American Revolution, and California became for a few years after the discovery of gold in 1848 the crossroads of the world. Now, thanks to one transportation revolution after another – steamships, railroads, automobiles, and airplanes – California is undeniably in the very center of things.

The announcement of the San Francisco conference on world organization pulled us up short, and made us realize where we were. Why was this city chosen? The first native son to whom I put that question said it must be the climate. Perhaps that did have something to do with it, but there were probably other considerations also. The sites of international meetings — Casa Blanca, Moscow, Teheran, Quebec, Cairo, Washington, Yalta — do not seem to have been chosen for strictly climatic reasons. Probably the choice of San Francisco was made with equal forethought, and was designed to have equal significance. If so, that significance should not be difficult to detect. Is it not obvious that the choice of San Francisco points an unerring finger toward the Orient? Certainly, if world peace is to be maintained, the problems of the Pacific cannot be overlooked. I think the choice of San Francisco points another finger, also, this one toward our neighbors to the south. For in any successful planning for peace, the nations of Latin-America must obviously participate.

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*An address delivered before the California Historical Society, April 12, 1945.

Time was once when the United States fronted definitely on the Atlantic, with the Pacific as only the back door. Probably it would be too much to say that the situation is now reversed, but none would deny that the importance of the Pacific doorway has greatly increased of late. Mercator's projection has done us much harm. Because of it we long thought of the world's surface as a flat rectangular plane, with the coast of eastern Asia far to the right and the coast of western America far to the left. Now we know that the Far East and the Far West have begun to meet, and that the problems of the one are inseparably intertwined with the problems of the other. The polar projection maps that the airways have made popular serve admirably to emphasize this newly-realized nearness. The direct route to Japan is not along the parallels but by a much shorter way that cuts directly across them. We fly northward to Russia by way of Alaska and almost omit the Pacific Ocean altogether. Nor do distances in the new air age mean very much. We are near neighbors, in flying time, with the South Pacific. The news that General Stilwell had relinquished his command in China was hardly out before the rotogravure sections showed us pictures of the General back at his home in Carmel. Prisoners rescued from internment camps on Luzon appeared a few days later in San Francisco. And then there are the ships that ceaselessly come and go.

The Latin-American connotation of the San Francisco gathering should not be overlooked. There is nothing Latin about such a term as Dumbarton Oaks. But San Francisco! Even if the name conjures up memories of the "Colossus of the North," it at least is a Latin name. Furthermore, California shares with all Southwestern United States a Spanish background. It is true that nearly all of South America lies to the east of North America, but the greatest awareness of the other Americas is not to be found in the eastern states, but in those parts of the United States that once belonged to Mexico. It is in this region that the history of the Americas to the south of the Rio Grande was first adequately studied by historians of the United States; and it was here, too, that the idea of a unified history of all the Americas was born. To Professor Bolton goes the principal credit for making historians take notice of our American neighbors; perhaps, indeed, for laying the foundations for whatever "continental solidarity" we now enjoy. He should be on hand at all times during the San Francisco conference, else the delegates from the other Americas will be tempted to leave their duties and cross the Bay to see him. His early comprehension of the fact that Latin-American civilization was worth our while to study was a compliment those nations cannot forget, and his recognition of the unity of American interests paved the way for the "good neighbor policy." So, if the support of all the Americas for a plan of world collaboration is desired, where better could it be sought than in San Francisco?

But the old concept that California is a far country, too remote to have an important place in history, is not the only fixed idea that needs to be overthrown. Californians must also begin to realize that their history did not end with the colorful and romantic years of the gold rush. Those years were interesting and significant; they merit our study. So also do the years of Spanish occupation that preceded them. But the eras of the missions and the presidios, of the miners and the vigilantes only marked the beginning. I leaf through the recent volumes of the *California Historical Society Quarterly* only to discover in dismay that articles treating of the period since the Civil War are practically non-existent. One almost gets the idea that history becomes history only when it is old, and that its importance as history is judged, as one might judge a Duncan Phyfe table, by the authenticity of its antiquity, and the state of its preservation.

Now, relatively speaking, there wasn't much to California in those early days. The people were numbered then in thousands, or tens of thousands, or, by 1860, in only a few hundred thousands, whereas now they are numbered by the millions. The pioneer days were important, and there is no need to discount them. Pioneering, however, was by no means peculiar to California. It was an ages-old custom that dated back, so far as the English in America were concerned, at least to Jamestown and Plymouth Rock, and in the case of the Spanish, much further. The California frontier was only another American frontier, different in some respects from some of the rest, but with a remarkable number of almost identical characteristics. Indeed, the uniqueness of California during the frontier period has probably been much overplayed. Except for the activities of the gold miners, the frontier process, when California began, was already as well worn as an immigrant's old shoe. By going through it California merely qualified to be a state in the Union, a state like the other states, nearly all of which had had a similar initiation.

While this frontier stage of development was important, both for California and for the rest of the Union, it seems strange that so many people seem to think that when it stopped off, history, too, stopped off. One might as well assume that only the youth of an individual could be important, and tradition that "history is past politics, and politics is present history." Politics is, indeed, a part of history, and an important part. But in the United States the more significant phases of political history are increasingly national, rather than state or local. The field of state governmental activity has been greatly invaded of late. That does not mean that important things are not being done by the states, and even by the cities, for in such fields as education and public health, to mention only two examples, what the states do is of supreme importance. And incidentally administrative history, the work of the numerous boards and agencies we create, is a field that has hardly been scratched. But the national government, we must all grant, has captured the spotlight in most matters of political activity, and, in comparison, what the states do seems inconsequential.

But history is not concerned merely with politics. It concerns itself with every aspect of human achievement. The history of agriculture is a part of history, and so also is the history of industry, and of commerce, and of finance, and of labor. And so, too, the numerous categories of social history – the way people live, their religious and educational strivings, their scientific accomplishments, their efforts to express themselves through literature and art, their class and racial antagonisms. All these things are history, and in them California has played always an important, often a leading, part.

The agricultural history of California is of the utmost significance. The rise of the the citrus fruit industry is one of the wonders of the world. It changed the food habits of a nation, and made orange juice as essential a part of an infant's diet as milk. It perfected methods of cooperative marketing that swept the nation, and its successes in price-fixing might well make the O. P. A. green with envy. The nut-growers, and the rice-growers, and the vegetable-growers have not been far behind. Much, too, has happened to stockgrowing since the Spanish period, when ranchers had cattle upon a thousand hills, but no market within a thousand miles. Nor should we forget dairy-farming, poultry-raising, and all the rest. Each has a history that we find important at every meal. Any worth-while history of agriculture must touch also on the conditions of land-ownership, the problems of tenancy and migratory labor, the progress of irrigation. A definitive history of the great Central Valley Project cannot yet be written, for the project is still unfinished, but the intricate set of circumstances that led to it, the boldly conceived planning of its proponents, and the execution of their plans to date are all a part of history, history as immensely significant, perhaps, as the very discovery of gold near Sutter's Fort in 1848. For even if there is not more gold involved, there are far more dollars at stake.

When it comes to the world of business and industry, California presents other rich veins for historians to mine. What would southern California be like without the oil industry, and where is the history that tells in adequate detail what mighty changes this industry has wrought? Shipbuilding did not begin with the present war, but it has now an established place among the greatest of California's industries. What the California shipyards have done to win this war, what they did to win the last, what problems of living they created, surely these things furnish the material of which vital history is made. The air-craft industry, newer still, but not so new as not to have preceded the war, offers still another field for exploration. The use of hydro-electric power in industry, and the very business of producing that power, this, too, is history. The ways of the financial world, our banks and bankers, the growth of the modern complicated system of investment – where is the historian who has adopted this domain? Economists study these subjects, to be sure, and they set forth in systematic fashion what they find about the present. But the historian thinks also in developmental terms. How came these things to happen?

Commerce and transportation add to the burdens and responsibilities of the historian. The railroads and the business they transact have won more attention than many other subjects, but the early railroads get a disproportionate share of the attention. Even on this subject, the last word has by no means been said, and who has chronicled the railroads' fairly recent re-birth? The highways we travel so comfortably, when we have the gas, did not just happen. Their history is long and complicated and meaningful. These great new bridges we have built – we take them for granted. How did they come to be and what differences have they made? Now and then we hear oldtimers speak fondly of the ferries, the contacts they promoted, the compulsory rest periods they gave the commuter. We long had historians of the stage coach; only lately an historian of the ferry. Those San Francisco cable cars, happily they too found their historian. But the history of street railways in San Francisco and Los Angeles and wherever else they ran and still run, the coming of the motor-bus and motor-truck, and last, but by no means least, the air-line routes, where are their historians? To California, more than to the rest of the nation, travel by air gave great promise. Here was the chance to cut down on those long distances, to end the myth of isolation. And the part California and Californians must have played in opening the pathways of the air could not be insignificant. Even before the war, the China Clipper had established its right to a place in the sun. There is history there, important history, and most of it has yet to be written.

In a class by itself is the history of labor problems in California. California may be on the geographical periphery of the United States, but from the days of Denis Kearney on down it has been close to the exact center in the matter of labor disturbances. San Francisco long had a labor government, and its history has not yet been half told. The labor problem ties us in closely with racial relations – the Chinese, the Mexicans, the Filipinos, the Japanese, the Negroes. The beginnings of these racial relationships, and perhaps to some extent their current ramifications, we have studied or are now studying. But what of the period in between which is so essential to a full understanding of the present? The growth of labor organization in California is by no means an untilled field, but its comprehensive history has not yet taken final form. The problems in the field of agricultural labor that are peculiar to California have a separate and tremendously interesting background. *The Grapes of Wrath* shocked and startled us, but just what is the truth anyway? Those strikes we have suffered; are they not history? War workers, the Oakies and the Arkies, people from every state, of every race and color, they and the work they are doing provide for us the stuff that history is made of. This whole war boom, like the last before it, cries out for its chroniclers.

There are other phases of social history that we have too long neglected. Should our religious history stop off with the old Spanish missions? Did the Roman Catholic Church cease to function after California became a part of the United States? Are the various Protestant denominations, their early beginnings no less than their later activities, to be ignored? What of the strange new sects we breed? Once we thought that only the Mormons and the Christian Scientists deserved, strictly speaking, the honor of being American foundations. But I rarely drive along a strange street without noting a strange denominational name outside some church door. Where is the historian of Aimee Semple McPherson and the Gospel Four Square? Does anyone doubt that religion, of whatever sort or kind, greatly influences the thoughts and actions of men? Then we need to know more of its history. And philanthropy, the first cousin of religion, who has told that tale in full? The great gifts that founded our colleges and universities, our hospitals and libraries, our art galleries and museums, why should we ignore this by-product of the capitalist system? And our lodges and clubs and societies. We are, and have long been, a nation of joiners. We boast of our individualism, but work together admirably in teams, in groups, in vast organizations. Where is the historian of the P. T. A.? Or the League of Women Voters? Or, for that matter, the Chautauqua movement of yesterday?

Beyond all this are the contributions of California to education, to science, to literature, to music and art. They have been considerable. Our public school system is far out in front, when it comes to providing educational opportunities of usefulness to every student, however limited his talents may be. Our colleges and universities have distinguished faculties, and some of them are unique in the methods they employ. Our junior colleges have blazed significant new trails. We have, too, our oddities. Some years ago, as I glanced through the classified section of the Los Angeles telephone directory, I chanced upon a section labeled educational institutions. To my surprise, it was three pages long, and contained many astonishing entries, among them a Kalifornia Kiddie Kollege, spelled consistently with an initial "K" all the way through the name. Doubtless the Bay Area could do as well. There is a vast educational record to be examined, not only on what worth-while things California has contributed to this engrossing subject, but also on the things that merely pass for education, and do not really deserve the label.

One college president, observing recently the change in fashion of what we now call history remarked sententiously: "Once history was full of drums and trumpets; now it is mostly bums and strumpets." Possibly he was right; possibly, too, without the historians being entirely wrong. Finley Peter Dunne had the same idea years ago when he put into the mouth of Mr. Dooley these choice words: "I know histhry isn't true because it ain't like what I see ivry day in Halsted Street. If any wan comes along with a histhry iv Greece or Rome that'll show me th' people fightin', getin' dhrunk, makin' love, gettin' married, owin' the grocery man, an' bein' without hard-coal, I'll believe they was a Greece or Rome but not before . . . Histhry is a post-mortem examination. It tells ye what a counthry died iv. But I'd like to know what it lived iv."

The triumphs of science deserve better of historians than they have been accorded. Ours is above all a scientific age, and yet for the most part the road by which science has climbed from one high eminence to another is a half-forgotten, poorly-marked trail. The triumphs of man over nature are nowhere more startling, both for themselves and in their social consequences, than here in California. The contributions of our laboratories, those maintained by individuals and corporations no less than those of our colleges and universities, need a developmental as well as a systematic recording. To many a scientist only the last phase seems to count; how it all came to be can be forgotten. But history deals with the strivings no less than the triumphs: we want the whole story, not merely the happy ending. Perhaps that story may help us to unlock still more important secrets.

There is no end to social history, and to California's part in it. There is a history of literature – from the days of Bret Harte and Joaquin Miller on through Jack London, down even to *Forever Amber*. There is a history of ideas, full of significant and sometimes irritating names, such as Henry George and Upton Sinclair. There is a history of journalism, a history with highlights that all the world has talked about. There is a history of music, from the first small beginnings to the latest successes in Hollywood Bowl. There is a history of architecture, with many of the best sources still before our very eyes. There is a history of art and of art collecting, both with infinite ramifications. There is a history of the theater, most especially as it has developed in the movies. Here is a peculiarly Californian enterprise, influential to a degree we can only begin to guess, written about more generously, no doubt, than anything else we have, but I wonder how much attention our really serious historians pay to the movies? And the radio. Is this science, or art, or literature, or what? One of my students is now at work on a thesis which seeks to measure the influence of the radio in presidential campaigns. Why not? And how many other such subjects, all with a strong flavor of California, cry out for investigation.

Much that I have recounted you may dismiss as current events. And so it is. But have historians no duty toward the present? The earliest great name among California historians was probably Hubert Howe Bancroft. And why do we honor him? Not so much because of the many volumes that bear his name as because of his activity as a collector. When others merely mined for gold, or mined the miners, Bancroft went on out and gathered in historical sources. He knew, sooner than most, the significance that a society in the making would have for later generations. Our magnificent Bancroft collection at the University of California is his honor and his fame. But where are our modern Bancrofts? Who is now at work, as Bancroft was at work in his time, collecting and preserving the records from which can be written the history of the impact of war on California? If our historical societies insist on concentrating merely on collecting more journals of the Forty-niners, more diaries of early nineteenth century travelers, more remnants of a faded Spanish empire, what an opportunity they are missing! California deserves better of us. Future native sons and daughters, the descendants of those who came to California in order to help win the second World War, will want to know what part their ancestors played in making California over. Is there any good reason why we should let them down?

California Emigrant Letters

Compiled by Walker D. Wyman

INTRODUCTION: California in no small way symbolizes the basic forces of immigration, emigration, and industrialization that have shaped modern America. To its shores have come both Europeans and Asiatics seeking opportunity and freedom. Its rapid conquest by frontiersmen enabled it to become a state within two years after having become a part of United States soil. Modern industry has converted it from a colonial to an industrial economy, and has placed it in the upper group of manufacturing states. Basic to its emergence, therefore, has been the gold rush, a torrent of humanity that poured into the area in its early years, rapidly inundating the Spanish way of life and transplanting the traditions that were spreading across the continent from the East.

In the first half century of the nation's existence the population had with few exceptions spread no farther than the edge of the Great Plains. The American West of 1840 was that land lying north of Texas and east of the Rockies, and in the main it was the least hospitable of the frontiers that had beckoned the hardy pioneer. Before the thousands of Scandinavians, Irish, and Germans began to flow through our eastern ports, many of whom were en route to the upper Mississippi Valley, long fingers of American settlement and influence were pushing into this wilderness beyond the political control of the nation. Texas was an Americanized outpost long before it declared its independent in 1836. The Santa Fé Trail, extending some 800 miles, partly across what was then northern Mexico, was an avenue for American goods and traders after 1822. Foot-loose mountain men, in search of furs in the river valleys of the Rockies and the Pacific slope, made annual pilgrimages after the second decade of that eventful century. Some of these people were regarded as the spray preceding a wave of possible American invasion, and were unwelcome on the Spanish frontier or in the disputed Oregon country.

Bernard DeVoto has said that the year 1846 was one of great decisions. In that year Oregon, after having been settled by a growing number of American farmers since 1843, became part of a nation now greatly interested in driving Europe from the American continent and in taking possession in the name of an enterprising people. In that year was launched a war against Mexico, which since 1822 had been the holder of the title to Spanish lands in the present United States. The Mormon pioneers, who had sought refuge in the West in 1846, learned that no sooner had they established their Zion than the gentiles politically engulfed them. Truly, in 1846 "manifest destiny" might appear to some to have been guiding the nation.

California, as one of the frontier provinces of Spain and Mexico, was a different land before the gold rush brought upon it the hordes of people from the States and the world. Long regarded as a frontier area to be defended by troops and Christianized by friars, it was a pastoral country where ruling families lived amid plenty, where thousands of cattle and horses roamed the hills, where pageants, ceremonials, and feast days afforded entertainment and a reason for living to both the ruled and the rulers.

All of this was to be changed, rapidly and violently, and not without heartache and financial loss to the inhabitants. Nine days before the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed on February 2, 1848, by which California became a possession of the United States, gold was discovered at Sutter's Mill. Gold had not been unknown in California before this, nor was an American an oddity in the land. In addition to the trappers, sailors had been deserting their ships while in port; and since 1841 parties from the States, some with families, had been arriving with the intent of settling on a piece of land. Oregon had been the destination of most of the overland emigrants who had worn the early ruts in the trail leading out of the Platte, but a few of these, especially after 1845, had wound their wearisome way over the Sierra into the land of promise.

The world of 1848–49 eagerly received the news that gold existed in unlimited quantities in California. To thousands in Europe came tales of the unparalleled riches in this new land beyond the sea. Other thousands in the Mississippi Valley and on the Atlantic seaboard were waiting for the word that would cause them to tear up the roots of family, church, and community and send them forth to new areas of promise. As the news of gold filtered down to the grass roots of the nation, it seemed as if a fair part of the male population were preparing to leave for the Pacific. Never had such an event shaken the nation. Nothing in that century was so to shake it except the Civil War. Whalers, cargo boats, sailing vessels, fishing smacks, and condemned hulks set out from Atlantic ports to carry the thousands either to Panama, where they could make their way across the isthmus and thence to California by boat, or down the tortuous route leading past Cape Horn and through the Straits of Magellan. The great majority from the Mississippi Valley prepared to leave by way of the wagon trail up the Platte River and through the South Pass of the Rockies.

The Missouri River frontier was one of confusion in the spring of the great emigration. To the slumbering little towns of St. Joseph and Independence in Missouri, and to the Mormon settlement of Kanesville in Iowa or the area known as Council Bluffs, came these pilgrims. Some already had wagons, livestock and provisions, but came here to cross the river and to organize into companies for mutual protection. Many had to buy everything for the trip. To the farmers and business men these days must have seemed like a dream, interesting and profitable, yet too good to be true. No wonder some of these rising river towns began to suffer from illusions of grandeur!

Some of the emigrants on the road to California suffered tragically. Cholera caused the death of many, particularly east of the Rockies. Relief was sent from California to some of the struggling arrivals. Upon reaching the mines, some chose to work at inflated wages rather than dig gold. Others learned the hard way that fortunes were not for all. Only a few could state that they had come poor and gone home rich. At best, these "first families" of California had a hard life, one that could be endured only by the strong and enjoyed by the adventuresome.

The California pioneers seem to have been unique in that so many of them left records of their trek overland. This is not the case with those who went to Montana, Colorado, the Yukon, or to the other silver and gold lodes of the mineral empire. Of the many diaries kept by the argonauts, not a few have been published in volume form or in historical magazines; but a journal that continues after the arrival at the mines is seldom found.

Those who have read the weekly and daily papers of the period have been impressed by the number of letters, written by emigrants, that have been published therein. This wealth of social and economic history, except those parts used in annotating a diary, has never seen the light of day.* For the first time, then, is brought together some of this newspaper correspondence, inscribed en route to the mines or from the mines and rising cities of California. In some cases the letters are reports written by professional newsmen to their papers. Not to be forgotten is the fact that to the people of the Mississippi Valley and the East these reports were the chief source of information about travel conditions, or the richness or lack of richness of the mines. It may seem strange that, in spite of the many discouraging reports in the winter of 1849–50 from those who failed to make a fortune, so many should have chosen to go overland in the second year of the emigration.

Letters from California emigrants can be found in nearly any village or city newspaper of the period, for it was the unusual community that did not send at least one young hopeful to the land of riches. This or that adventurous young man wrote to his family or friends or to the editor; and, spread on the front page, his letter would appear, giving the latest California news. This no doubt had a strong appeal to subscribers.

It is chiefly from the press of the Missouri River frontier, from which such a large number of the emigrants went to the mines, that the following letters have been taken, and it is believed that they are representative. Naturally the press of this region gave prominent space to all "intelligence," as they said, about California. It is doubtful if letters taken from the Eastern seaboard would contribute in any different way to an understanding of the movement.

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*The collection of Lorenzo Sawyer's "Way Sketches," published in the *Family Visitor* (*Ohio Observer's* office, Hudson, Ohio, 1850–51), is in a different category, as it represents the reportorial effort of one writer. [Ed.]

In reading these contemporary writings, one might easily believe that the editors of the papers had tampered with the spelling and punctuation. However, it has been considered proper to make no changes unless the errors seem typographical. The title to each of the letters has been given by the compiler. If known, the newspaper from which it came, the person to whom addressed, and the name of the writer are given at the end of each letter. When the place from which the letter was written is given, either by the newspaper or the writer, it is listed at the head. In the attempt to arrange the letters both by subject and chronology in so far as possible, one part may appear in the section on the method of mining, another may appear on life in the mines. Naturally, much of the contents of many letters has been omitted.

I. REPORTS FROM CALIFORNIA BEFORE THE DEPARTURE OF THE OVERLAND EMIGRATION

*California Before 1849**

California was originally a part of Mexico, and declared independent in 1845. It extends from the Pacific Ocean to the Anahuac mountains, and from 42 of north latitude to the head of the Gulf of California.

On the north it is bounded by Oregon, and on the South by Old California and the province of Sonora. Its extent, from north to south, is about 700, and from east to west about 600 to 800 miles, with an area of about 420,000 square miles.

The largest river is the Colorado, or Red river, so called from the color of its waters. It has a course of about 1,000 miles. The region through which it passes is almost unknown, being still in the possession of the native tribes, and has been but little explored. Green and Grand rivers are the largest upper tributaries: both rise within the United States; the river Gila is its lowest and largest branch, a considerable river. Numerous large and powerful tribes of Indians inhabit the whole country north and south.

The Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers both flow into San Francisco Bay and are 300 to 400 miles in course. They water the country between the Sierra Nevada and coast range mountains.

Bear river runs into the Great Salt Lake. This lake is near the northeastern extremity of California, and is said to be the largest lake in California – its waters saltier than that of the ocean.

The chief mountains are the Sierra Anahuac, Sierra Los Mimbres, and

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*The ingenuous – and often extremely *ingenious* – inaccuracy of parts of this account hardly needs annotating. In fact, throughout the series of letters the policy will be pursued of letting the correspondents tell their own story without interruption. Readers of this first section will recognize that "Ezel" drew at times from such sources as Edwin Bryant's *What I Saw in California* and Fremont's *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, etc.* (The reference to Nature's solicitude for the comfort of rabbits is taken from page 276 of the latter.)

Sierra Madre, and form a chain, being part of the great Rocky Mountains, and separate the waters of the Colorado from those of the Rio Grande del Norte. The valley between the Sierra Nevada and the coast range is the finest part of California.

An unexplored part, called the "Great Interior Basin of California," is represented as a sandy desert, with rivers and lakes, the population consists of a few wandering savages, who live chiefly on insects and seeds and roots, which they dig out of the earth. The rabbit is the largest animal known here, it supplies a little flesh, and its skin furnishes the scanty raiment of the almost naked inhabitants. The wild sage is the only wood: it grows of large size, being often a foot in diameter, and from six to eight feet high; it serves for fuel, for building material, for shelter for the rabbits, and for some sort of covering for the feet and legs, in cold weather.

The Pah Utah Indians are a race of nearly naked savages, armed with long bows and arrows: the latter are barbed with a kind of stone, almost as hard as diamond, and when discharged from their powerful bows are almost as effective as a gunshot. They are a sort of banditti or robbers, bravos, and have no bounds to their cruelty.

Wild animals are, in some parts of California, very numerous – large droves of elk, wild buffalo, wolves, and antelope – the grizzly bear is met with in the Sierra Nevadas. The buffalo, panther, or American Tiger, deer, and several other species of wild animals are common. Otters and beavers abound in many of the streams.

The wealth of California heretofore consisted of live stock; the chief articles of export were hides and tallow. The annual exports were estimated – hides, 150,000; beaver, about 2,000; elk and deer, 3,000; sea otter skins, 400 to 500, which were considered worth thirty dollars apiece; and some 12,000 bushels of wheat are shipped annually to the Russian settlements on the northwest coast. This wheat is of excellent quality and [the] product very abundant. Indian corn yields very well; also, potatoes, beans, peas, &c. The soil is well adapted for grapes. Some 3,000 or 4,000 gallons of wine and brandy is made annually. Cattle, sheep, horses, mules, goats, and swine are abundant – the mutton is of fine flavor, but the wool is inferior, and no attention is paid to that kind of stock.

At the missions, coarse blankets and wearing apparel for the Indians are manufactured, besides a small amount of soap and leather. There are in the country only two or three water mills for the grinding of wheat, which are owned by Americans.

The number of aborigines have been estimated at fifteen thousand, about one-half of whom are converted Indians, and reside at the Sacramento river. The whites are of mixed blood. Before the gold mania, the population was estimated at about twenty-two thousand. The health and robustness of the inhabitants has been remarkable, and attributed to the climate, as well as to their ample diet. This consists of roast beef upon the coals, a few vegetables, and the tortilla, which is a thin bread made of corn meal, and baked upon a sheet of iron. Throughout the country, with both rich and poor, this is the common fare. A few luxuries have been lately introduced. The children are, for the most part, left to take care of themselves, and run about, naked and dirty. It is no strange or uncommon thing to see families of fourteen or fifteen children – although the Californians are few in number, yet they have a distinctive character. Descended from the Spaniards, they are unfortunately found to have . . . their vices without a proper share of their virtues: they are exceedingly fond of gambling, which is equally in favor with the male and female portion of the community. Their games consist in cards, dice, &c. Their amusements are cock fighting, bull and bear baiting, and dancing. These are the predominant occupations of their lives – always accompanied with excessive drinking. The female portion of the community are ignorant . . . and the slaves of their husbands. They are very fond of dress, and will make any sacrifice to gratify it. The men have no trades, and depend for everything upon the converted Indians, some of whom are quite ingenious, both as carpenters and blacksmiths. The whites are so indolent, and withal have so much pride, as to make them look upon all manual labor as degrading. In truth, they look upon all who work as beneath them – they, in consequence, can never be induced to labor.

The towns of the country are all small. Monterey, the capital, has about three hundred inhabitants. San Diego, and Pueblo de los Angeles, the two largest towns, have each a population of from eight hundred to one thousand. Santa Barbara and San Francisco are the next most important – the latter is on the bay of the same name, and has the finest harbor on the coast: it affords perfect security to ships of any burden, with (heretofore) plentiful supplies of fresh beef, vegetables, wood, and water. Capt. Sutor's [Sutter's] place is called Nueva Helvetia. He settled there in 1839. He obtained his land from the Mexican government. It lies about fifty miles from San Francisco Bay, near the junction of the Sacramento with the Rio de los Americanos, and consists largely of a fort, built of sun-dried bricks. He generally has employed about thirty white men, and forty Indians, in agricultural pursuits. There has been for some years quite a settlement of Americans here with their families.

The country was first discovered by Cabrillo, a Spanish navigator, in 1542. It has been owned by the Mexicans until 1845, although several revolutions have taken place since the first discovery down to 1849. It is now the property of the United States – so say the gold-hunting crowd. They will want everything but gold after a little bit – only just hold your horses and see; then come out, lay quietly on your oars, and such another set of degraded, hungry, ragged, haggard, looking race you never saw before, as you will see crawling back on their hands and knees, asking for the crumbs that fall from your table....

"EZEL"
Missouri *Republican*, May 6, 1849

Gold Fever in California

War Department, Monterey
Oct. 23, 1848

The gold fever rages as bad as ever, and the quantity collected has not diminished, but increased. Provisions, clothing, and all the necessaries of life, are at most exorbitant [sic] prices. Living was always expensive in this country, but now it passes all reason – board four dollars per day, washing five to six dollars per dozen. Merchants and clerks are receiving from $1,800 to $3,000 per annum salary! What the government will do for civil officers, I do not know. Salaries will have to correspond with the times. The pay of governors, judges, etc., as allowed in the U. S., will hardly compare with that paid to salesmen and shop clerks here.

William Rich, A. P., U. S. Army, to
Gen. W. Townson, Paymaster General,
Washington, D. C.
St. Joseph *Adventure*, Feb. 6, 1849

Steamer Apprentice Deserts in California, 1848

San Francisco, Jan. 6, 1849

Upon our arrival at Monterey, we heard of the gold mines, and emblazoned as the accounts were, they at once gave me the idea of seeking my fortune among them. After our arrival at San Francisco, most of our men, including the cook and steward ran away from us; the Captain then begged the residue to stay by the ship until she was discharged, and then he would give us clear or double our wages, (to double mine would be twice 0 is 0 – a slim chance). However, the remainder left, excepting D———, the sailmaker and myself. After which the Captain remarked "As you are an apprentice, I am in duty bound to return you to N. York," and refused me my discharge; whereupon I took French leave for the mines. After walking about 300 miles through the Spanish ranchos, I arrived at Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento. I then proceeded on horseback (Captain Sutter having given me a mustang) to the North Fork on the Rio Americano.

I worked about eleven days, averaging about $104 per day – was then taken sick with the fever, and had a severe time of it. I received four visits from the nearest doctor, which was 60 miles off, and paid him to the tune of $600 – $150 per visit – leaving me with about $60 in pocket, after paying for my provisions, which are high in proportion...

I then returned to the Fort on foot, having lost my horse. Captain Sutter gave me employment in carrying the chain with Lieut. Warne, who was surveying a town about the Fort called New Helvetia. Here I was very badly "poisoned," as it is called, by the noxious shrubbery with which I came in contact, and was obliged to relinquish the business.

After the ship left here I returned, and found one of my most intimate New York friends, formerly assistant paying teller in the Merchants Bank, Thos. J. Roach; he came out here as 1st Lieut. of the volunteers. Through his influence I obtained a situation as Purser's Clerk on board the ship of war St. Mary; about a week after which the Purser died, and Capt. Crowninshield appointed his nephew Purser, and he took his brother as Clerk, thus depriving me of my situation.

Roach then obtained me another situation with Messrs. Cross, Hobson & Co. (extensive merchants both here and at Valparaiso) with a salary of $150 per month, and boarded: board is $20 a week; indeed, everything is at an enormous price at present. I still remain with them; but as soon as I collect money enough, shall return home; for I can live much better on $30 a month in New York, than here at $150. Then there is no society here; it is ten times worse than Wisconsin; with gamblers innumerable, and the Spanish gamblers will murder you with a good will for your clothes and blankets. You may judge the state of society, also, by a great part of it being composed of disbanded soldiers and runaway sailors.

I have acquired considerable Spanish, for, I can assure you, when your subsistence depends on your speaking that language, you will soon jumble together enough to indicate what you want. . . . I have found that a Spanish girl is the best grammar in the world; and since my arrival in town, I have been – studying grammar.

If I had $1,000 here, I could make $5,000 in a short time. I hope to be home by the spring of 1850. In the meantime you must send me a file of New York papers, and all the papers you can collect, as they are of much account here. A sample of California gold is enclosed.

William E. Morford
Missouri *Statesman*, Apr. 27, 1849, quoting
Sussex, New Jersey, *Register*

Effect of Gold Upon Steamships

San Francisco, Apr. 6, 1849

The mining season has just opened. Every vessel for the Sacramento and San Joacquin is crowded with passengers. Vessels drawing seven feet can go up to Sutter's old fort. (Sacramento City.) The Sacramento is the finest river for steam navigation I have ever seen. No snags.

Most of the vessels in port have been entirely abandoned by their crews. As soon as the *California* arrived, every man, except the captain and one or two others deserted. When the steamer *Oregon* came in sight of San Francisco, the men on board refused to do duty. Several swam ashore, others were put in confinement. The U. S. ship *Ohio* has lost several of her sailors; there has, also, been a mutiny on board that vessel.

"V. J. F."

Missouri *Republican*, June 22, 1849

Rosy Report on California Riches

San Francisco, Oct. 18, 1848

Dear Sir: I take this the earliest opportunity, to inform you of my arrival here. I found California in another revolution, not of blood, but of gold. If I should attempt to give you anything like a true account of the condition of this country at the present time, I would fail, for I have not language to express, nor descriptive powers to delineate its true condition; if I had you would lack faith to believe. We arrived at the gold mines on Weaver's creek, a branch of the American fork of the Sacramento, where my family is at this time, after a toilsome, tedious and perilous journey of five months and five days; but, thank Providence, without loss or injury. Providence has guided and directed my course, and kind fortune has taken me by the hand at every step. I lost but one animal on the route. I brought every species of property I started with, which is worth more here in gold than all I was ever worth put together in all my life. I sold, when I landed in the mines, the wagon I bought at Oldham, and three yoke of oxen, for $1,000 in gold, and was offered $1,200 for the other wagon and oxen, but I would not sell it; it is worth as much to me as a steamboat is to its owner on the Missouri River. I have given it to young Nottingham who drove out for me, on the halves, he hauls from Embarcados, a town laid out at Sutter's Fort, 40 miles from the mines, and the head of navigation at this time.

The road is better than the road from Lexington to Independence (in Missouri); he hauls from thirty to forty hundred, and the price varies from twenty to thirty dollars per hundred pounds, so that he clears for himself over fifty dollars per day; time in making trip, from four to six days. I sold off all my horses — three at $100 a piece, the common price for horses and mules varies from one to four hundred dollars per head, a great many sold at the latter price; the great demand is for transporting provisions and tools. I sold the pistols I bought of Henry Childs for $200 and the belt for $75 in gold. I have been in the country some three weeks, and have . . . three thousand dollars in gold. The prices quoted above, you will feel disposed to doubt, not being accustomed to such high prices, but they are nothing. Let me give you an idea of the prices of provisions, clothing &c., at the mines: Flour $40 to $100 per 100 lbs; beef 40c to $1 per lb; bacon hams $1 to $1.50 per lb; sugar 75c; coffee 50c; tea 50c to $1; shirts from $16 to $82 a piece; coats $50 to $100; boots $16; shoes $8; pickled pork $250 per barrel; these are the mine prices.

Now let me give you an account of these mines. They are scattered over an area of from 500 to 1,000 miles, the richest ever known upon earth. The average calculation for the amount of persons engaged by men of superior judgement, including Indians, Mexicans, run-away sailors, disbanded soldiers, Conacers from the islands, and men and monsters, are set down at $16 per day, though you can hire no man for that amount; you can hire some for $250 per month, but no No. 1. They will not think of less than $100 to $500, $800, $1,000 per day, and two men have taken from one hole forty pounds in two days; this is the most I have heard of. There are new discoveries being made every day, and God only knows where it will end. Gold is nothing more thought of than dirt. There is no credit asked or given, the transactions are all based on gold. I do not like this country – I do not like the climate, and more than all I abhor and detest the society; I never expect to sow a seed or plant a grain in this country. I expect to continue in the mines, myself and family, each one doing his best, until we all get a sufficiency to live independently, which will not be long.

My little girls can make from 5 to 25 dollars per day washing gold in pans. So soon as we get ready I expect to ship at this port for Jackson county, Mo., where I expect to spend the balance of my days in peace and quietness and in the enjoyment of family and friends, where of all places I most delight to be. My average income this winter will be about $150 per day, and if I should strike a good lead it will be a great deal more. The large majority of persons who have done well here in the mines, (and all have done so that have tried,) are going back to the states to live, at least nine out of ten.

You know James M. Harlin; he has just bought a Mexican ranch, for which he has paid in gold $12,000 for the stock and land, averaging the stock at $50 per head, and it is thought that he has made at least twelve thousand dollars in the operation, which makes him stand monarch of $24,000; but this is nothing. Jesse Beasley is said to be worth at least $40,000. Governor Boggs has made an independent fortune for all his children. You know Bryant, a carpenter, who used to work for Ebenezer Dixon; he has dug out more gold in the last six months than a mule can pack. I have not spare time left to tell you the half I want to. Old Capt. Sutter has rented out his Fort to merchants, tavern keepers, grocery keepers, &c., at the rate of fifty thousand dollars per year, besides there are floating stores at the landing in launches, brigs &c. The amount of trade done at this place is supposed to be at least $10,000 per day, and is said by merchants of New York and New Orleans to be equal to those places at this time in money transactions. As old cousin Hugh Boyles used to say in his preaching, "It is good for us that we are here."

It was here that I found my old friend, Julian Martin. I found him as we parted – a true friend – and he has been of great service to me here; he has picked up several thousand this season; he is too rich to dig, but is a considerable trader in the mines; sells shirts at $30; serappies at $100; speaks the language fluently, dances at the fandangoes, and stands No. 1 among the Mexicans, which is a great deal in this country.

I always believed I was born the child of destiny and that I never was to be subservient to the wealth, power, or dictation of any man, and my belief is now realized. I always detested the idea of making money by low, pitiful, sneaking advantages — that principle never had a place in this breast.

The above account and description of matters and things, will seem strange to you; but, sir, if you believe Divine Revelations or the sacred truths of Holy Writ, you can believe this statement.

M. T. McClellen to B. Leonard, Jackson County, Mo.
Independence *Expositor*, quoted by the
Missouri *Statesman*, Apr. 27, 1849

A Respected Man Gives an Optimistic Report on California Gold Before the Overland Movement

Sutter's Fort, Feb. 2, 1849

I am here at this point, having been attracted hither by the unlimited gold region of California.

Men are here nearly crazy with the riches forced suddenly into their pockets. I have had some opportunity, in the course of my life, to study human nature, but the school here is upon a grander scale than you or I ever saw before. Perhaps a few anecdotes will illustrate the state of things, and afford you some amusement. An honest close-fisted shoemaker, by the name of Spee, came from Oregon to California about a year ago. After gold was discovered he went into the mines, and was soon making his hundred dollars a day. A quizzical shrewd fellow from Philadelphia met him one day:

"Well, Mr. Spee, how do you get along?"

"First rate, sir. I would not be a member of Congress with his eight dollars a day, nor the President of the United States. I can make more money than they."

"Well, Mr. Spee, I suppose you will make no more shoes." Our shoemaker thought himself insulted, and indignantly replied, "No, not I. Let those make shoes who will, *I make no more*." He is now a merchant, and deals in goods, wares, and merchandise.

I was here during the Christmas holidays, and saw great numbers of young men who had never worn a cloth coat before, with at least a thousand dollars worth of finery upon them. They were almost loaded down with trinkets. I saw one fellow dressed in a splendid suit of black, over which he wore a superb black cloth cloak; and instead of drawing his cloak about him to shelter him from the cold wind then blowing, he was careful to let it be unfurled, like a flag to the passing breeze, that he might catch the admiring gaze of the passers-by. Another gay fellow dressed equally as well, save the cloak, was strutting up and down before the door of a large tavern. In his right hand he held a large bell, and at short intervals he would stop and tingle [sic] his bell: as much as to say "Look here, *this is me*." Another dandy went into a store, and took out a fine silk handkerchief, and commenced wiping the mud off his boots.

The merchant said "you will spoil your handkerchief, sir." "Oh, that's no difference, I have another. I wipe my boots with one and my nose with the other." Some time during the last autumn a young man was at work in the mines, who had his heart set upon marriage. Whether he had courted the fair one, and she had refused his offer, or whether he had always considered himself too poor to take upon himself the support of a family, I do not know. At all events, he had one day rolled aside, by means of levers and prop, a huge stone, under which there was a deposit of several hundred dollars of pure gold, in small pieces, the size of flax seed. The moment he cast his eyes upon the shining treasure, he threw himself flat upon his back, in an ecstacy, among the rocks, clapped his hands, kicked up his heels, and exclaimed, "A married man, by gosh." Col., you have been through Mexico, and elsewhere, but you never have seen anything like the state of things here. The accounts you have seen of the gold region *are not over colored.* About $25 per day is the amount of the produce of one hand. I was in the mines forty days, and was careful to make an accurate estimate. THE GOLD IS POSITIVELY INEXHAUSTIBLE. ONE HUNDRED MILLIONS will be taken out annually in the course of two years. Town lots at San Francisco are worth $10,000 for the best, and no title at that.

Peter H. Burnett to Colonel A. W. Doniphan
Missouri *Republican*, May 15, 1849

There's Gold for Future Generations

San Francisco, Mar. 13, 1849

I am just about leaving for the gold mines, and have only time to drop you a few disconnected lines to let you know the news of the day. In the first place the gold fever is no humbug, I am satisfied of that by ocular demonstration. I am writing at the table of a gentleman worth fifty thousand dollars, who came out as a private soldier in Stevenson's regiment from New York . . . Every one who has been to the mines says that the gold is inexhaustible. Something was said upon arrival of the steamer about putting a stop to foreigners digging in the mines, but the citizens said, let them come, there is room for the world for generations!

I saw a man today who had spent the last four months at the diggings, and brought two hundred pounds of dust with him – part of it made in the mines and the profits of about five thousand dollars in merchandise.

There is a mountain of silver about ninety miles east of this, which yields ninety per cent, but nothing short of gold can tempt the miner. A good diving bell would be of indefinite benefit to the miners here; some of them have told me, that at the bottom of the deep rivers, the gold can be seen in great quantities, but cannot be obtained, on account of the rapidity of the streams.

They think they are doing a very bad business indeed, if they do not obtain two or three ounces a day, and if they do not get more than one ounce, will soon leave and hunt for a better place. I was surprised before I came here, to hear of men leaving the placers where they were making from one to two ounces per day, but since my arrival I have seen many leave who were making much more than that.

"McK."
Missouri *Republican*, June 22, 1849

The Mines Offer Hope and Demand Sacrifice

San Francisco, Apr. 6, 1849

I would have written you at an earlier period but for a temporary fit of delirium brought on by a new epidemic – the yellow or gold fever. I was suddenly attacked with violent, extraordinary symptoms. My friends, the Doctors pronounced me desperate, advised a change of climate, and a few days afterward I found myself on the banks of the Yuba . . . which was to effect my cure. But, jesting apart, this wonderful country seems but a realization of the wild and extravagant fictions of the East. Indeed, the poor workman, as one accustomed to manual labor, has a better chance of wealth than one who has hitherto been ashamed to dig. The carpet knights and silken striplings, who are perhaps, leaving their mothers' sides for the first time, are scarcely capable of sustaining the hardships, privations, and exposure – the digging, delving, and washing, by which the precious metal is obtained. It requires a greater sacrifice not only of the comforts but also of the necessities of life, than is generally imagined. During the winter months, miners must remain in a state of suspended animation, for the cold of the mountains is too intense to permit them to operate with success at that season. From July until October, the people of the placer are exposed to violent bilious remittent fevers . . .

"V. J. F."
Missouri *Republican*, June 22, 1849

What are the Prospects?

San Francisco, Apr. 6, 1849

At present, persons working at the mines make from 12 to 70 dollars per day, and occasionally a man finds a rich spot, which yields from 500 to 600 dollars per day for a short time. A place that does not give more than 16 dollars per day the workers abandon, and go "prospecting" or seeking a richer spot. It is impossible to predict how long this will last. The *prospects*, however, are excellent. The golden area is daily enlarging. It now embraces four hundred miles, from the headwaters of the Sacramento, in the North, to the headwaters of the San Joaquin, in the South. The Stanilaus, a tributary of the last named river, is now the favorite digging. The largest pieces have been found there. An acquaintance of mine has a lump weighing six and a half pounds. The revenue of these mines increases in the same ratio as the population, which is rushing in from all corners of the Globe.

"V. J. F."
Missouri *Republican*, June 22, 1849

II. EMIGRANTS AT THE MISSOURI RIVER OUTFITTING TOWNS, 1849

Arrival of Emigrants in Independence

Independence, Mo., Apr. 20, 1849

During the last week more emigrants have arrived at this point, en route to California, than at any time previous for the same period. They generally arrive completely outfitted except for stock. . . .

Among the number emigrating, are many men of families. I have had occasion to converse with many of them, and can assure the wives and families of at least one-fourth, that they will again return to enjoy the happiness thereby afforded, previous to visiting California. Many have positively determined on such a course, others are wavering, endeavoring to dispose of their outfits. After getting this far on their journey, they find out that at home they have a responsibility – some a wife "and three interesting children," and ranging from that number of responsibilities to nine; they discover that, while it is their duty to endeavor by all honorable exertions to provide for, and accumulate "something" to start these "dear ones" in life, they are reckless in the discharge of that duty, and hazarding much, when they run the risks and uncertainties pertaining to a trip to California, in order to accomplish such an end. Hence, they deem it sensible to return.

A number of other companies are outfitted and ready to move. . . .

"California"
Missouri *Republican*, Apr. 29, 1849

Patronage of the River Towns

St. Joseph, Mo., Apr. 2, 1849

The immense emigration to California by this route has given an impetus to business in the towns of Westport, Independence, Weston, and St. Joseph, unprecedented by that of any past season. The taverns and boarding houses are crowded to their utmost capacity, and it is with the greatest difficulty that the newcomer is enabled to obtain quarters – many, for the want of other lodgings, being obliged to accomodate themselves in uncovered wagons and uncovered outhouses. As near as can be ascertained, 2,500 persons are already at these points – by far the greater number being at Independence and St. Joseph, – while every boat that arrives from below adds largely to this number. In addition to those who have arrived *via* St. Louis, several companies from northern Illinois, Ohio, and Missouri, and from Michigan and Iowa, have made their overland journey to these points overland.

Several of these companies, among whom is one of 971 gentlemen from Pittsburgh, come completely fitted out for the expedition, while others contemplate making their outfits at their places of rendezvous.

"California"
Missouri *Republican*, Apr. 7, 1849

Emigrants Help Business in Independence

Independence, Apr. 5, 1849

Every arrival by river from your city (St. Louis) adds largely to the number of emigrants, with whom this town is now, and has been for some days, densely crowded. In proportion to the arrivals, business increases, and the merchant, mechanic, farmer, and artisan are reaping rich rewards for all must eat, drink, and sleep, and so proud are they that (unusual for land-lords generally) surliness and indifference reign supreme, and welcome the newcomer. Independence, by all means, should have at least two additional hotels, and, to the enterprising, this affords a fine opening.

"California"
Missouri *Republican*, Apr. 10, 1849

Comparison of Prices and Availability of Stock in the River Towns

St. Joseph, Apr. 2, 1849

Which of these points affords the greatest advantage for this purpose [of buying goods for the overland trip] is a bone of contention between the good people and business men of these several places, and especially of those between Independence and St. Joseph. . . .

The principal and most important item of consideration is that of stock, in regard to the prices of which I have sought every information in my route to this place, the amount of which I will inform you in this communication. At St. Joseph, common to good American mules are selling at from $55 to $70, and choice at from $75 to $100 per head, according to size and age. The supply, as also the demand, is limited, most of the emigrants providing themselves before reaching this point. Oxen are selling at from $45 to $60 per yoke, according to the conditions and quality, very few being in the market or offered for sale. In other articles there is a slight advance upon St. Louis prices, the quantities and qualities from which to make a selection, of course being far below that afforded in your city.

At Independence the supply of stock is large, and at this time exceeds the demand, yet the holders are firm. Saturday last a lot of young American mules sold at prices ranging from $55 to $65, as in quality: four or five years old, of large size, will range above the highest figure, while good Spanish mules, which are scare, will readily command from $80 to $110 – very seldom to be obtained at the lowest figure. It is generally believed that a large number of mules are on their way to this market, but even with an additional supply, it is thought the demand will increase in greater proportion, and the present quotations be considerably advanced. The supply of oxen is not large, neither is the demand great – the larger number of emigrants preferring, or at least purchasing mules. Saturday last ten yoke sold at prices ranging from $55 to $65, according to condition and quality. . . .

The prices of stock at Independence, as also the remarks, will hold good and apply to Westport, and Kansas – the contiguity of these places, being but a few miles from each other, rendering the quotations about the same.

At Weston, Sunday last, I heard of sales of good American mules at $70 per head, and common at $55. Choice cattle, the same time, were sold at $58 the yoke, and common at $51.50. Very little stock at this point and the demand limited.

At points along the river – other than points afore mentioned – stock ranges much higher than I have quoted. At Parkesville, a village a short distance below Weston, sixteen American mules were offered for sale, but held firmly at prices ranging from $85 to $100, and at a point a few miles below St. Joseph, a lot of the same quality of mules were held on to $100 to $125 each. These two lots were regarded by their owner of superior quality, being larger in size than are ordinarily found.

"California"
Missouri *Republican*, Apr. 7, 1849

Supply of Oxen, Mules and Wagons in Independence

Independence, Apr. 5, 1849

American mules [are available] say from $55 to $65, as in quality. Very inferior Spanish mules have been sold for as low as $35, while others, suitable for the trip, range from $40 to $75. There are mules in the market, both American and Spanish, considered of superior quality to those quoted, held for higher prices by their owners – say from $80 to $100. The supply is good and at present exceeds the demand. The supply of oxen is fair, and the demand good, at from $50 to $65 the yoke, as in quality and conditions. The most extensive wagon establishments in the country are located at this point, capable of supplying almost any demand; while the facilities for procuring such an outfit as is necessary for the trip cannot be surpassed in any town of similar size and population.

"California"
Missouri *Republican*, Apr. 10, 1849

Buying Stock in Independence

Independence, Apr. 20, 1849

The supply of oxen and mules *at this place* exceeds the demand, and prices range at about my previous quotations; say for ordinary to good mules $40 to $60, and choice at $70 to $100 per head, as in quality and condition. The number purchased for the "Pioneer Line" of Turner, Allen, and Co., all remarkably fine animals, were bought at from $70 to $100, and by actual sales I am governed in giving these quotations. The supply of them is also large, and prices range from $45 to $55, as in quality, none held to my knowledge above the highest figure. The facilities for procuring other facilities for an outfit, excepting weapons, are good at the present time, and exceed the demand; but, should the demand continue to increase, how long they will remain so I am unable to determine.

Many emigrants, in purchasing their stock, are compelled to accomodate themselves to their purses, and in a market where the supply is so large, of course, many inferior lots are offered. Sales of oxen have been made as low as $22 the yoke, and mules at $30 per head, but are not the marketable rates; stock sold at such prices will last just long enough on the trip to take the owners to a point where it will be *impossible* to replenish, and from the number of such that have been purchased, I fear there will be immense suffering on the Plains, and in the mountains this season. What men are thinking about, or calculating upon, when they provide themselves with such teams for a journey of near two thousand miles is a mystery; yet hundreds are doing so, and then confining themselves to a team barely sufficient to move their wagon . . . They meet with an accident, or their team fails them entirely. What is to be done? They have no remedy, new trains are not to be obtained, and it will be impossible for them to proceed . . . True, other companies will continually be moving along the route, and pass them; but the best outfitted company that I have seen yet, is not provided with a duplicate team, and even if they were, would not dispense of it for fear of accident to themselves. Physical force – the stronger compelling the weaker to share any advantages it may possess for reaching the destination, will be resorted to. Such results are greatly to be feared, but those who may, deem them but conjectures and imaginary. They are to be feared from the very fact that men by the thousands are launching themselves upon a journey demanding great privation and preparation, without properly guarding themselves against any emergency. I have seen sufficient to justify these conclusions. I hope they may be wholly imaginary, but cannot believe so – the evidences to the contrary are too palpable. For the reasons given above conflicts must and will arise between different parties – mark this down, and by the middle of August look out for a squabble.

"California"
Missouri *Republican*, April 29, 1849

Old Plainsmen Advise Emigrants on Purchases of Animals

St. Joseph, Apr. 2, 1849

In this section of our State are a number of persons, the greater portion of whose lives have been spent in mountain service and upon the plains . . . They remark, without any conflict of opinion, that two and three year old American mules are unable to stand the service of an expedition to California, and most especially when put into harness. A number of emigrants are supplying themselves with such animals, under an impression that they will be more serviceable. This is a mistake; they have not the bone, nor are they sufficiently developed in their limbs to enable them to stand the trip. Males from four to eight years are greatly preferable.

"California"
Missouri *Republican*, Apr. 7, 1849

Go to Camp, not a Boarding House, upon Arrival on the Border

St. Joseph, Apr. 2, 1849

[The] young men, arriving in these points of rendezvous, instead of immediately forming a camp, and inuring themselves to the hardships of a duty with which they are unacquainted, go into boarding houses, determined to lead an easy life until the time for their departure arrives. By performing camp duty in a vicinity where the necessary accoutrements for such duty can readily be obtained, they ascertain more correctly what they may desire and are able to obtain, before they are beyond the bounds of civilization or the facilities for procuring such accessories as may be deemed important; and furthermore, they gradually become accustomed to the hardships of camp life, while in the vicinity of a comfortable respite from duty, should it be found too irksome. It is advisable for companies, as soon as possible after their arrival at these points, to go into camp.

Some weeks will elapse before any company will be able to leave the settlements. At present, and for several weeks to come, the grass will be too young and insufficient to justify them in starting. To attempt to carry food sufficient for their stock to last them up to the time when there will be range and pasture enough, would only be unnecessary expense, but in the end not in the least facilitate them or expedite them in their journey. It is conceded, therefore, that the first of May is as early as any company should leave the settlements. . . .

"California"
Missouri *Republican*, Apr. 7, 1849

Deaths in "St. Jo"

St. Joseph, Apr. 2, 1849

A young man from Lancaster, Pa., named Cyrus Jacobs, attached to a company from Pittsburgh, fell overboard from the steamer Kansas, on her trip up and was drowned. Last evening, at the Presbyterian church in this town, an eloquent and appreciative funeral sermon was delivered by the pastor of the church to his memory. His late associates, members of his company, and citizens generally, attended the service, and much feeling was manifested on the occasion.

A young man by the name of John B. Denz, formerly of Washington City, died suddenly at Weston, a few days since, under circumstances painful in the extreme. A wager was laid with a friend, that he could drink the most liquor, to test which he filled a pint glass with brandy and drank it down; scarcely had the last mouthful been swallowed before he fell back senseless, and in a few moments was a corpse. The deceased is of highly respectable connection, to whom the untimely end will cause much sorrowing.

"California"
Missouri *Republican*, Apr. 7, 1849

Sickness in the Camps at Independence

Independence, Apr. 5, 1849

For miles around small companies are in camp, patiently awaiting a sufficiency for grass to enable them to start upon their journey of golden expectations . . . For several days past the weather has been very disagreeable. Several of the emigrants, from exposure they have had to undergo, have been made sick, and considerable fear is manifested by many in consequence of reports of deaths from cholera in this vicinity. The reports cannot be reliably traced, and are, no doubt, exaggerated. A gentleman supposed to be from North Carolina, named Robert Underfied, died last night after a short disease. He was alone, and intended emigrating with the first company.

"California"
Missouri *Republican*, Apr. 10, 1849

"Seeing the Elephant" in Independence

Independence, Apr. 5, 1849

Some of the boys have seen the elephant and intend returning; others are already on the route for home. Some have attempted to whip the "tiger" but instead have been fleeced of their all, and unable to obtain an outfit. This place affords every facility for gambling, and the unsuspecting, before they are aware of it, are drawn into the meshes laid to entrap them, and soon relieved of their funds.

"California"
Missouri *Republican*, Apr. 10, 1849

Emigrants at St. Joseph

St. Joseph, Apr. 25, 1849

From what I have been able to ascertain, there appears to be a greater number of emigrants rendezvousing at this point than at Independence. At the commencement of the season this was not anticipated by the good people of the latter place, or expected by the business men or citizens of St. Joseph. The arrangements of the merchants to meet any demand that might be presented, are ample in the extreme, and afford facilities for procuring anything necessary for an outfit. . . .

The roads, in every direction, are lined with wagons of emigrating parties from the lower counties of Missouri, and from Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Illinois. The majority of these intend moving leisurely as far as Fort Kearney and Council Bluffs, and then make a final start.

Up to this time at least three thousand emigrants have arrived at this point, en route for California. Several companies have departed, and are now about one hundred miles from the frontier; they intend remaining in camp for some days at Grand Island, which is about two hundred and eighty miles distant . . . The roads from Independence, Fort Kearney, St. Joseph, and Council Bluffs there connect. . . .

"California"
Missouri *Republican*, May 2, 1849

Hotel Accommodations in St. Joseph

St. Joseph, Apr. 25, 1849

There is gross and unpardonable remissness on the part of landlords, to provide for the comfort and sustenance, at least such is the case in the "Edgar House," the place at which I sojourned during my stay. At dinner, April 24, I noted down what would have been the "bill of fare," had such a document been presented the guests, and to show the high living indulged in, enclose it as follows: Boiled ham, two dishes; fat pork, six dishes; potatoes, ten dishes; and about a dozen dishes of corn, wheat bred, desert, peach pie. At this table about forty persons were seated to dine. One gratification is, that none of us are likely to be troubled with the "gout" previous to moving to the plains. To say that the country does not afford sufficient supplies to enable those catering to the public to spread at least an ordinary table for their guests, would be a slander upon those who cultivate the rich and looming soil which for miles encompasses this vicinity – yet such has been the plea presented. To admit its correctness would be of small avail in extenuation of their remissness in other respects. The appearance of the rooms and sheeting of the beds indicate great scarcity of water or gross negligence. The river being contiguous, and the town plentifully supplied with wells, one might suppose the latter to be the case. For these accommodations, it is true, you pay but the moderate sum of $1 per day, yet fully enough, I should suppose, to enable them to do better. Landlords, to further their own interest, would make better provisions for their patrons, even though "they are only California emigrants."

"California"
Missouri *Republican*, May 2, 1849

Dissension and Accidents in the Emigrant Camps at Independence

Independence, Apr. 20, 1849

Discussions have sprung up in some companies ready to move, resulting, in one or two instances, in a complete dissolution. One of these dissolutions, or winding up affairs, came near proving fatal to an innocent party. In a rencontre between members of the company, Thos. S. Sawyer and Mrs. Waters, of Illinois, respecting a balance claimed by Mr. Sawyer as due him, shots were exchanged and a Mr. Alexander H. Baldwin, of Elmyra, N. Y., who chanced to be passing the beligerants [sic] at the time, received the contents of a gun, fired by Mr. Sawyer, into his loins. Baldwin will recover. Sawyer was arrested; plead[ed] guilty to an assault, and was fined $1 and costs.

While several members of this (another) company were engaged shooting at a mark, a gun in the hands of Dr. F. Wallace was prematurely discharged, by which a young man named Werner Hill was instantly killed – the ball passing through the upper lobe of the left lung. . . .

"California"
Missouri *Republican*, Apr. 29, 1849

Scenes around St. Joseph and Independence

St. Joseph, May 3, 1849

According to promise I embrace a moment to drop you a very hasty line before embarking on the vast plains . . . We have a truly picturesque scene around our encampment; it is beautiful beyond anything I have seen. And the undulating prairie is dotted as far as the eye can sketch with the white tent of the "gold hunter." A lonely Indian jogs by occasionally, but they are reserved, and take care to avoid armed Californians. Grass is nearly about sufficient to sustain our mules, but oxen must wait some ten days: we shall pack corn and put out forthwith. I passed through Independence on my way out, and that place and this are perfectly crammed and jammed with emigrants. From the best estimate I can make I am inclined to think the number of emigrants will not exceed 8,000, certainly not over 10,000. Many of the boys have seen the Elephant's tail already, and some the whole baste [sic], and hundreds are going back. Eastern men particularly are sadly out of fix here, and we have a most incalculable advantage over them in all the fixing up for the trip. And the Missourians are skinning them most horridly too, in every thing they purchase. Every day has its own prices.

The ferry is overrun and some four or five days behind in crossing wagons, and unluckily one of our company is caught on this side waiting for its shipments, and we will likely have to leave it. We have had a taste of camp life, and during the past cold days a pretty trying one, but all are well and improving very much. You would be astonished to see the unshorn chins, sunburnt visages, and healthy looks of some of our quondam gentry. I am a little disposed to think we have missed it, in coming here in preference to Independence, for vegetation is two weeks earlier there than here, and we could have started on much less grass there.

Long lines of wagons daily file off past our encampment, and we are impatiently counting the mouths that are to devour the grass ahead of us. We will likely take up our line of march on the 5th, and move on feeding some corn, till the grass gets heavier, which will soon be with the warm days and heavy rains we are having.

We have had various rumors of cholera, smallpox, etc., and also of bloody fights, but they are all exaggerated and mostly false. Some cholera has occurred among wayfarers . . . but it is not all noticed; some fire accidents have happened with fire arms, but no fights as far as I know. It is the general remark of entire astonishment every where, at the almost universal good conduct, gentlemanly bearing and intelligence of the Californians. Such a set of men taken all together are seldom called together, particularly when we take into consideration how much they are skinned and imposed on by nearly all. They will soon be on their long journey to the golden land, and promise I think to do well for California, in establishing good order and digging up her golden treasure.

"Old Boone"
Missouri *Statesman*, May 25, 1849

III. OVERLAND IN 1849

Loads too Heavy, but Getting Along Well

Big Nimehoh [sic], 90 miles west St. Jo.
May 11, 1849

Whilst it rains I sit under our wagon on the ground (our tent being packed away) to write you a few lines. We have a pretty sure chance of sending a letter and may not have another this side of California. We are all well, in good spirits, and progressing finely. We have increased our company to 57, and organized ourselves by electing Wm. W. Hitt Captain. We have had fine roads thus far, and getting on without difficulty except in crossing one creek, which is worse than any till we reach California mountain. We are said to be over far the worst of the road, and have only broken one tongue, though one other wagon is nearly broken down. Our loads are too heavy, entirely so, and we all have too much baggage, yet our teams are doing well, and we are making from 15 to 20 miles a day. We are decidedly ahead of the great mass particularly of the ox teams and shall pass still more. I find there are many on the road badly prepared and who know but little of the trip; we are decidedly over an average company, and I doubt not will make the trip without danger, and I am satisfied now that many of the toils are mere fictions. We have no sickness, and it is truly surprising how little complaint there is among so many men so much exposed.

Almost every man in the crowd is fatening [sic] and we are awful eaters. We can present a fine array of whiskers and tanned faces. I do not think there is scarcely a man would turn back if he could. We may not have another chance of writing and if not do not expect this side of California to hear again from your old friend.

"Old Boone" to Col. W. F. Switzler
Missouri *Statesman,* May 25, 1849

Scenes at Ft. Kearney

Fort Kearney, May 17, 1849

A good many of the adventurers and navigators have arrived at this point, on their way to the happy land. About three hundred wagons have passed; the foremost train about ten days ago. They are said to be go-ahead boys from St. Louis, but I am in hopes of being in halooing distance of them by the time they cross the Rocky Mountains. There is every variety of conveyance – ox, mule, and horse trains, foot travelers, &c. There is one of the latter who says he has seen the suns of sixty winters; with his rifle on his shoulder and his faithful dog by his side, he has trudged on foot from the forests of the Kennebec – where he had a golden vision of the land of California, where he expected to arrive. He says, he thinks he can go there upon twenty-five meals. I have authorized him to draw upon me for half the amount, whenever he feels hungry. His principal object appears to be to obtain a dowry for his favorite daughter, and thereby enable her to marry an *editor*, lawyer, or statesman; and by their assistance, he still hopes to be a great man. There will, doubtless, be much suffering on the route this summer; but it will be more owing to the people themselves than the difficulties they have to encounter. Persons who are not able to walk fifteen or sixteen miles a day, are but poorly fitted to obtain a livelihood by digging in the gold mines of California. There can be grazing obtained for a large number of animals, by diverging from the main route, in places where the country will permit it. There will be an abundance of grass for all the trains as far as Fort Laramie, after which, there will be a scarcity in places until they reach their destination.

Yesterday we fell in with a party of eighteen Sioux and Cheyenne warriors – the bold robbers of the prairie – armed with guns, bows, shields, and spears. Their appearance, no doubt, made many a "Green 'un" tremble with fear. They were on the war path for the Pawnees, the scalps of two of whom they had dangling at their saddle bows.

"M. M. G."
Missouri *Republican,* July 6, 1849

Emigrants Suffer from Lack of Experience

Fort Kearney, May 26, 1849

Since my last, the army of gold diggers has received mighty and powerful reinforcements. It now numbers over 10,000 men, and has a baggage train of 2,527 wagons. The prairie is dotted with them as far as the eye can reach; not an instant for the last two weeks has there been, that emigrants and emigrant wagons have not been in sight from this post. For two or three days past, the weather has been most disagreeable, and the effect has been somewhat to *dampen* the ardor of the emigrants, particularly so, as the rain has been falling in torrents most of the time. I have heard hundreds wish themselves home, and several have actually turned back at this point. The great majority now crossing the plains were profoundly ignorant of what was before them when starting – had no idea of what an outfit consisted of, and, in short, looked upon crossing the prairies as nothing but a pleasure trip, where killing buffalo, wolf hunting, &c., formed the prominent features. The result of such want of experience was, that almost every wagon that left the frontiers was overloaded, not with articles absolutely necessary, but with such things as each might fancy he might need while on the prairies, or after he reached the end of his journey. Sawmills, pick axes, shovels, anvils, blacksmith's tools, feather beds, rocking chairs, and a thousand other useless articles for such a trip, filled the wagons as they left the Missouri River. Soon it was found that the loading was too great for the teams, and now overboard goes everything. The road is lined with various articles – even *gold vases* and *gold washers* are abandoned by the roadside. Quantities of provisions share the same fate, which it is to be feared will be sadly wanted by those who threw them away, before they reach the Pacific.

Several serious accidents have occurred on the road from the careless use of firearms. Three men have been shot dead, and yesterday a young man was brought to the hospital dangerously shot through the shoulder. His name is Swop, and is from Missouri.

Major Sanderson, with one squadron of Rifles, left here on the 23rd. inst. to establish a post at or near Fort Hall. A dreary prospect for that squadron.

"PAWNEE"

Missouri *Republican*, June 16, 1849

Every State, Every County Represented on the Trail

Fort Kearney, Nebraska Territory
May 18, 1849

The Mormon mail from the happy valley of the Salt Lake has just dropped in upon us on its way to the frontiers, and I avail myself of the opportunity to send you a line – and a line it will almost literally be as I have but a moment in which to write. The ice is at last broken, and the inundation of gold diggers is upon us. The first specimen, with a long pick-axe over his shoulder, a long rifle in his hand, and two revolvers and bowie knife in his belt, made his appearance here a week ago last Sunday. He had only time to ask for a drink of buttermilk, a piece of gingerbread, and how "fur" it was to "Caleforny," and then halooing to his long-legged, slab-sided cattle, drawing a diminutive, yellow-topped Yankee wagon, he disappeared on the trail towards the gold "diggins." Since then wagons have been constantly passing. Up to this morning four hundred and seventy-six wagons have gone past this point; and this is but the advance guard. Persons who have come through hurriedly from the frontiers, say that every road is lined. This is an excellent point from which to see all that is desirable to be seen, as all the roads unite before reaching here. I have not the time, nor the power to describe the queer outfits and queerer people who are at present to be found on the Western prairies. Some other time I may attempt it.

Every state, and I presume almost every town and county in the United States is now represented in this part of the world. Wagons of all patterns, sizes, and descriptions, drawn by bulls, cows, oxen, jackasses, mules and horses, are daily seen rolling along towards the Pacific, guarded by walking arsenals. Arms of all kinds must certainly be scarce in the States, after such a drain as the emigrants must have made upon them. Not a man but what has a gun or revolver or two, and one fellow I saw actually had no less than *three Bowie knives* stuck in his belt. Many of the parties as originally formed in the States have had dissensions, and are broken up, and each fellow is striking out for himself. This mode of life soon brings out a man in his true colors. No one knows a man, and he does not know himself, until he is brought out in his true character in the tented field, or in some such expedition as is now occupying so many of our citizens.

However, all are jogging on their way, with the determination, apparently, of finding the end of the road – and in truth it matters little whether a man is in an organized company or is traveling by himself, for it is impossible to get out of sight of wagons. Such an emigration as is now passing over the plains has not had its parallel in any age. Composed, as it mostly is, of the best material of our land, the country that receives [it] must necessarily assume a commanding position. Many rascals, however, are along with the crowd, to give it a little wholesome seasoning. Several horses and mules have changed hands; but, as it is in an Indian country, the poor Indian must bear the blame. The last arrival on the frontier is a solitary foot traveler, who says he has come all the way from Maine, without the assistance of either railroad, stage, steamboat, or telegraph wires. He is accompanied by a savage-looking bull-dog, has a long rifle over the shoulder, on the end of which he carries his baggage, in a small bundle about the size of your hat. He has no provisions, but gets along fairly well by sponging on his fellow travelers. He says he wants but a hundred meals to carry him thro', and he rather guesses he'll find Christians on the road enough to supply him with that number.

Our old friends, the Pawnees, have had a hard time of it during the past winter. When they returned from their hunting grounds, their trail could be followed by the dead bodies of those who had starved to death. Children, young men and women, have shared this fate. Now that spring has arrived, their condition will be improved. They have abandoned their old village, 75 miles below us, on the Platte, and have commenced a new one at the mouth of the Saline, some 80 miles nearer the Missouri frontier. Their old enemies, the Sioux, are pressing them hard, which is probably the cause of this step. Several war parties of both nations are on the war-path, and several scalps have already exchanged owners. A large party of Sioux, a few days since came upon some half dozen Pawnees, and took three scalps and a small boy prisoner. This occurred about twenty miles from the post, and in the immediate vicinity, of a party of immigrants . . . The Pawnees, upon observing the overwhelming force of their enemies, who numbered about two hundred, took shelter with this train, but the gallant men composing it drove them forth without mercy. There was one squaw in the party, and the warriors finding they had to fight, told her to run for the river while they threw themselves between her and the Sioux, rescued the [boy] prisoner, and returned him to his mother. These little Indian fights, which, by the way, are of pretty frequent occurrence, and the arrival of the immigrants, have broken in pretty effectively upon the monotony of our prairie life.

One of the men with the Mormon mail, is just from the "diggings," in California, and is certainly a happy fellow, for he says he has as much gold as he wants. He showed a stocking full as a specimen, and as you may well suppose, the emigrants opened wide their eyes at the sight of the glittering mass.

"PAWNEE"
Missouri *Republican*, June 4, 1849

Pioneer Line Reaches Ft. Kearney

Ft. Kearney
June 19, 1849

The cry is still they come. Five thousand and ninety-two wagons at sun down last night had moved past this place toward the golden regions of California, and 1,000 more are still behind, I think. The fever, however, in many cases, has completely subsided, and in others a few more doses of rain will put them in a fair way for recovery. A few are daily turning back, and many more would follow suit, did they not stand in fear of the ridicule that is sure to await them upon reaching home. The Pioneer Company of Fast Coaches [from Independence] reached here on the 8th, advertised to go through in 70 or 100 days, I forget which – the end of one month finds them but three hundred miles on the road. A great error was made in fitting out this line, resulting either from ignorance or lack of means. The baggage wagons are entirely too heavily loaded, to move with the rapidity of such a line, and the carriages carrying but six persons are drawn by but two mules, and small ones at that. The passengers were loud in denouncing all fast lines, and the Pioneer Line in particular. A strong feeling of discontent prevailed throughout the entire company, owing entirely to the want of sufficient transportation, and the chances are strongly in favor of a general exploding. It must be said, however, in justice to Mr. Turner, who, I believe, is in charge of the train, that he is a man of energy and does all that a man could do under existing conditions. The devil himself would find it impossible to give satisfaction to an incongruous crowd of one hundred and twenty persons drawn from all parts of the world and thrown together for the first time, as is the case with the Pioneer Line. There are to be found doctors, lawyers, divines, gentlemen of leisure, clerks, speculators, &c., &c., tumbled in together and obliged to stand guard, cook victuals, bring wood and water, wash dishes, and haul wagons out of mud holes. Can anything imaginable be more difficult than the smoothing down of such a heterogeneous mass; but I presume the proprietors foresaw this before embarking in the business, and are prepared for any contingency.

"PAWNEE"
Missouri *Republican*, July 6, 1849

Life Enroute

Chimney Rock, North Fork of Platte
June 3, 1849

I believe my last to you was written from the main Platte, since then I have had no chance of sending letters. We are now nearing Fort Laramie and I begin preparing a mission to transmit from that point. But in advance I must again say you can hardly conceive of the difficulties of preparing letters on our trip. For in the first place we have just as much labour to do as keeps us constantly busy, and in the next place a fellow must tuck himself up on the ground, in the open air, with his legs crossed like a tailor's and write on his lap. But to the narrative of news. We are all well and not only well but getting really fat and saucy, and there is not a man but feels far better than on leaving home, and eats a great deal more. We met with our first Buffalo just above the forks of the main Platte. Lieutenant Royall deserves the point of honor, slightly participated in by myself, of bringing down the first veteran bullock of the plains. And quite a point it was too, for after we had packed our precious steak and tender loin some fifteen miles and reached our camp at 10 o'clock at night, we were hailed with shouts and discharges of fire arms by our joyous associates now worn out with salt food. And sweeter slices you never devoured at a "Calhoun party" than we broiled on our "Buffalo chips" that night, and such a supper, such a big supper no man in the settlements could contain.

We have had much more rain and cold weather than usual at this season on the plains, and have been in the mud a great deal. The season has been altogether an unusually wet one, with more rain and cold than ever known, yet we have tugged along through with remarkable success. We have had no streams to swim, and our stock are in fine order and we yet make from 22 to 25 miles a day. Buffalo are growing very scarce on this route and we have killed none since our first; between the Indians, hunters and emigrants they are fast disappearing. We could get more by hunting off the route, but few Californians are inclined to risk the chance of straining and breaking down their horses by long and hard races. And with the scarcity of wood and the probable early extinction of Buffalo and the fuel produced by them, the difficulties of the emigrant must at no distant day be greatly increased if not made insufferable until white settlements are scattered along the line of travel. The roads might be much straightened out and with little labour made the best in all the government.

We are all surprised at seeing so few Indians, for we have not seen 20 in all along our whole route; they seem to be terror stricken at the multitude of whites swarming through their solitary plains and do not annoy us a particle. We have not lost a single mule, not even for an hour, nor had a single Indian prowling around us at night as we know. The 30th of May was our last day on the South fork of the Platte and a memorable day it was . . . A cold Northwester set in over night, blowing down half our tents and making the rest creak and flop as if they too would tear from their fastenings. – Morning came dark, gloomy and rainy, with a howling wind along, piercing us through our soaked clothing to the very bones. No wood to raise fire, no warm coffee, no dry clothes, no protection from the piercing wind and soaking rain except a few remaining tents, and only crackers and water to fill and warm up. A few messes had some whiskey left, and they were very popular fellows that day I assure you; and he was a rare lark who "touched not and tested not" of it on that day on the Platte. Yet in general we were a jolly crowd and laughed heartily at each other's expense, and cheered our lowering spirits by bright prospects ahead; though a few longed for the bright fires and warm cheer of home and some thought if they were there they would stay. Among other troubles to busy us on that day we divided our company. We had before increased our company to near 60 by bringing in some strangers, near 15, who had teams inferior and differently fitted out from ours. And in keeping them up we were rather retarded for some 25 days, but at last a large majority who had constantly opposed a large company, wearied out with injudicious travelling and slow progress, broke off the number of 27. Our company now consists of . . . 6 wagons and 27 men, and we find that we travel much easier and quicker than before. We have chosen M. C. Stone, Captain, and are accompanied nearly all the time by Capt. Hitt's company who keep close to us. Our division was much to be regreted but rendered necessary by the largeness of our company, its injudicious movements, and the inferiority of some strange teams forced on us, which have since fallen behind Hitt's crowd because they cannot keep up, and we are all doing far better now than hitherto. We have gained a position far in advance of the great mass, passing by hundreds of ox teams and some pack mule trains, among others that of Bryant, of Louisville, Ky., the writer. We hope to make California by the middle of August if no misfortune attends us. This evening we met a Mormon from Salt Lake who confirms the golden tidings from California, though his news is not later than last fall. He is on his way to St. Joseph and proposes taking letters for the moderate price of 50 cts. We are encamped to-night in sight of Chimney Rock, about 50 miles below Fort Laramie. The scenery around us is picturesque and grand. Chimney Rock is a column of conglomerated clay, sand and thin strata of sandstone, some 300 feet high. A shaft of some 30 feet in diameter towers up 150 feet from a lofty pedestal, and can be seen for 25 miles around. Tomorrow we get our first peep at the distant peaks of the Rocky Mountains. And I will be either among or beyond the Mountains before you again hear from your old friend, till then farewell.

"Old Boone"
Missouri *Statesman*, July 20, 1849

Prospects are Fair

Plumb Creek, two days travel above
Fort Kearney
May 15, 1849

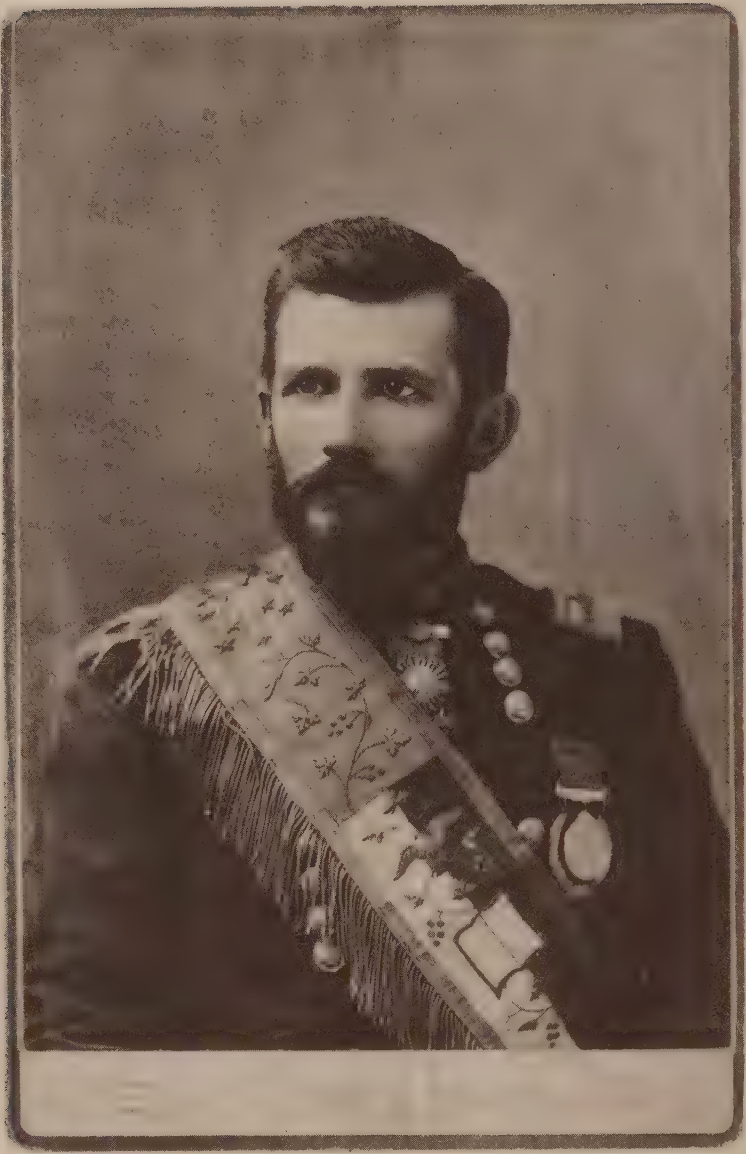
I embrace the opportunity to give you a hasty line by a trader just down from Ft. Laramie, on his way to your city. There is nothing very interesting to write about: we are slowly and quietly working our way along, and are perhaps as far along as any party who left St. Louis as late as we did. We left St. Louis on the 17th ult., had a tedious passage up the river, and landed at Sable Creek on the 2nd. inst., where we lost two days; and now we are on Plumb Creek, with buffalo in sight, and tomorrow we expect to regale ourselves with buffalo steak. We have passed many wagons, and are now in the company with the Telegraph line. There have been some upsets, tongues breaking, and miring down, but the boys soon unload, dig up the wheel, trail out the wagon, load up again, and away we go rejoicing ... The roads and grass are good, and our prospect very fair for getting ahead ... We have found that all those whom we have passed, who started too early, made a grand mistake: there is still a good many wagons ahead, but we are gradually overhauling them. Yesterday we had an amusing sight, when off in the distance we discovered some object moving, and after many conjectures it was finally concluded to be a buffalo; still it seemed to approach us in a direct line, and soon upset all our calculations. So quietly awaiting our time, we made out that it was a man loaded down with plunder, a blanket thrown over his shoulder, two pairs of boots slung over his neck, and a large box under his arm, containing his clothes – no, they were in a bundle under the other – well, what think you was in the box? A *violin!* He hailed from Michigan: he said he was bound for California, but was going back to *Fort Childs* to refit.

We have had many rumours about Indians, and have seen a few. There is some difficulty between the Sioux, the Pawnees, and the Comanches, the former have deserted their village (there was not even a dog left when we passed it) while the latter are out in large numbers, have taken some scalps, and had one prisoner, which was rescued by a party from the fort under Capt. Walker – who, by the way, is much of a gentleman and disposed to render all the assistance in his power to the emigrants, and without doubt he will have many calls, as experience has proved that many have made very wild calculations. The great error has been made in the selection of such heavy wagons. A light two horse *well-made* wagon is the best size; there has been great imposition put on many of the emigrants in the material used in the construction of wagons, and my advice to those who intend to come hereafter is, to see well to the material before it is painted.

The health of the emigrants is most excellent, I have heard of no cases of sickness since we left the steamer, and all hands are able to do justice to his ration of bacon, crackers, coffee, etc. The etc. means anything else you may have on hand in the way of game or other fancy articles. We have plenty of Antelope in sight every day, but I believe no one yet has been able to decide on the qualities of its flesh, as they will keep at the most respectful distance. Deer, none; but *buffalo tomorrow.*

"M. M."
Missouri *Republican,* July 6th, 1849

(To be continued)



On the reverse of the photograph from which the
above likeness is reproduced, appears in handwriting:

TO LAFAYETTE COMMANDERY OF KNIGHTS COMMANDERS
OF THE SUN No. 3

Fraternally yours,
Edwin A. Sherman
Gen. Grand Com-in-Chief

Original in collection of A. T. Leonard, Jr., M. D.

Sherman Was There

The Recollections of Major Edwin A. Sherman

(Continued)

SAN FRANCISCO was a sorry looking place then,* and disagreeable for either man or beast. Ashes, cinders and sand filled the air, and when the fog came rolling in, with a howling wind accompanying it, there were no words appropriate to describe the conditions. One man stood in the center of his devastated lot, and hallooed at the top of his voice: "Boys! Fellow Citizens! Let us celebrate!" A crowd gathered around and a fellow asked him, "What shall we celebrate?" The man replied, "Let us celebrate the Fourth of July. The fire, as well as the Declaration of Independence, has made us all equal!" It struck the fancy of the crowd, and when he put it to a vote, the result was unanimous in favor of the celebration. Committees were appointed. The Rev. O. C. Wheeler,[76] a Baptist preacher, consented to deliver the oration, and there was to be a flag raising. Patriotic impulses were stirred to their very depths; the rebuilding of San Francisco seemed to be but a side issue, the general aim being to get the buildings up, so as to be ready for the Fourth of July.

Lumber was scarce and was worth several hundred dollars per thousand feet. San Francisco became a canvas-roofed city, painted and sanded overhead. At that time, the old adobe, tile-roofed Custom House on Portsmouth Square remained intact, unharmed by the flames.

According to an account given me by Gen. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, the nucleus of the great city of San Francisco in 1843 was entitled "Yerba Buena" (Good Herb), and as it was already a point of commercial interest, the authorities of Monterey, deeming it of importance to the revenue of the country, ordered one Benito Dias to proceed to Yerba Buena as Deputy Collector of the Port. While stationed at his port, he received further orders to erect a Custom House, on what is now known as Portsmouth Square, on the west side of the Plaza, the northern end almost touching the southern side of Washington Street. The structure faced east, was built of adobe, had high ceilings, walls three or more feet in thickness, and was almost 175 feet in length and 35 feet in width.

The builder or master mason, an expert, was from the Mission of Santa Clara, together with the Indian adobe makers, who were also adepts in the preparation of adobe bricks. The bricks were made in the northern part of the village, those Indians having been instructed in the making of adobes by the Father of the Mission. The tiles for the roof were transported from the Mission of Santa Clara – a surplus that remained after the completion of the Mission buildings.

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*At the end of the previous installment of his Recollections, Sherman, early on the morning of June 14, 1850, had reached San Francisco from Empire City on the Tuolumne. Shortly afterwards a fire broke out, which destroyed a large portion of the bay city.

After the old Custom House was torn down [77] in September 1853, the lot was sold to the Alta California Newspaper Company [78]. . .

It was in front of the Custom House that, on July 9th, 1846, by order of Commodore Sloat, Captain John B. Montgomery, U. S. N., of the *Portsmouth*, landed his men and raised the American flag. The building then became the headquarters on shore of the U. S. Marines of the Pacific Squadron. Later, it served as a temporary prison for malefactors, where the Vigilance Committee hung Jenkins,[79] the murderer.

An amusing incident occurred here on the first of March 1847. The lieutenant of Marines in command had left a corporal (Isaac M. Baker), of the sloop of war *Dale*, in charge, and went off for a few days on a hunt. While he was absent, the 1st N. Y. Regiment of Volunteers, Col. J. D. Stevenson, arrived in three ships, the *Susan Drew, Loo Choo*, and *Thomas Perkins*,[80] from New York. Everything was quiet, and there was nobody to welcome him with the firing of salutes. He came ashore in a boat with his orderly and marched up to the Custom House, and, seeing Corporal Baker, who was the only man about, he imperatively inquired of him, "Who commands here?" "I do," said Baker. "Where is the officer in charge?" asked the colonel. "He is off on a hunt," said Baker. "Then I command here," said the colonel, "and will occupy the Custom House." Baker replied, "Not until the lieutenant returns, Sir. I command here, Sir!" The colonel looked savagely at him, but went and ordered the debarkation of the troops and they marched to the Presidio and went into camp. In a few days the lieutenant returned. When Corporal Baker reported to his superior officer the circumstances, he complimented him for his strict obedience to orders. Baker subsequently became a prosperous merchant in San Francisco, was one of the earliest members of the Society of California Pioneers and a fine man. He died in San Francisco in 1910, and I attended his funeral as a pioneer and as president of the Associated Veterans of the Mexican War.

But to return to the celebration of the Fourth of July at San Francisco in 1850. There was a large procession of citizens, with ex-soldiers of the Mexican War in the lead, as well as firemen, sailors, and a host of new, waiting, emigrant gold seekers from everywhere. A fellow with a remarkable memory recited the Declaration of Independence as he remembered it and with his own interpolations thereto, but no one corrected his version. Rev. O. C. Wheeler delivered a splendid patriotic address, which was followed by the raising of a flagpole, a hundred and fourteen feet high – one straight pole sent down by steamer, the gift of the City of Portland, Oregon; and when the American flag was hoisted upon it, the vast crowd sent up the heartiest cheers possible for "Old Glory."

On the following 17th of March, St. Patrick's Day, some foolish fellows hung an effigy of that saint, with a string of potatoes around his neck, high up on the pole. It aroused the ire and wrath of the Milesian [81] element, and on the morning of the July fifth following, the pole was found prostrate, having been cut down in the night.[82] Fourteen feet of the butt were left in the ground. This second act caused much anger among the people generally, and they would have hung the men who did it, had they known who they were . . .

For about ten days after the celebration, I was very busy in "wood butchering" with hatchet, saw, and hammer, helping to rebuild San Francisco at half an ounce or eight dollars a day, when I received a letter from my old employers at Sacramento, Francis and Stewart, to meet them at Sonoma to give evidence in a law suit which had, by change of venue, been transferred to that place.

A man by the name of Finley had sued them for $13,000, for teams he claimed to have sold them; and as he supposed that I, the clerk who had paid him the amount in gold dust in their presence, had left for the East, he had commenced suit to make them pay again. So I went to Sonoma and stopped at the Sonoma Hotel, to await their arrival with several others in about three weeks; but Finley, having learned that he would have to meet me there, abandoned his suit, and his nefarious scheme fell to naught.

Francis and Stewart had formed a larger company, and from Martin E. Cook, administrator of the estate of Kelsey [83] and Stone, both of whom had been murdered by the Indians, had bought several thousand cattle and nearly two thousand horses that were running wild in Clear Lake Valley.

It now becomes necessary to give an account of what took place in that part of California from 1841 to 1848–50, which is a history of treachery, bloodshed, murder, and conflict between Spanish Californians and Indians, and between Americans, U. S. troops, and the Indians, a story not generally known. But as I was at the termination of these difficulties, and learned directly from the mouths of the Americans who participated in them and who preceded me, I give the following.

In the summer of 1841, Don Salvador Vallejo, then a captain in the Mexican Army in California, had a large crop of standing wheat and barley on his ranch in Napa Valley, which was beginning to ripen, and he wanted Indian help to reap it. The sickles to be used were large, dry, rib-bones of bullocks, sharpened to an edge and nicked like a fine-tooth saw, and these were made ready for the harvesters. There were not enough tame Indians in Napa Valley to do the work, and as he owned an extensive ranch in Clear Lake Valley and all the horses and cattle, he sent messengers up there to get the mountain Indians to come down and help harvest the crop, but those Indians refused to come. He then sent a small detachment of Mexican troops and some few *rancheros* up to Clear Lake Valley to compel them to come down; the Indians, however, remained sullen. They were too numerous to be driven, and when it was apparent that hostilities were about to begin, the troops took their position around the large *rancheria* or Indian village, preventing flight. After parleying for some time, the Mexicans got all the "bucks," or male Indians of that tribe, to go into a large temescal or sweat-house to talk matters over in a friendly way. Three or four bullocks were caught and killed, to provide a feast for all.

Temescals or sweat-houses were always constructed on the bank of a creek, river, pond, slough, or lake. A circular space, nearly as large as a circus ring and from two to four feet deep, was prepared and the ground made smooth for a floor. Then long stout poles, with their butts planted in a circle, were placed on the outer edge of the cleared space and their tops brought together in the center, leaving a small aperture for the smoke to pass out. Twigs, grass, and leaves filled the interstices; and earth, piled on top, made a cone of the structure. To enter it there was a tunnel or covered way, two to four rods in length and not wider than for two persons to pass, leading from the bank of the stream. A small fire, built in the center, would in a short time make the interior intensely hot. The Indians would stoop and crawl through the covered passage way, and, entirely nude, would squat around, until the perspiration ran from them in streams. When baked enough, they would rush out through the passage way and plunge into the water, then come out and squat on the bank like frogs to cool off. This they would do in the very coldest weather. At other times, the temescal served for a council chamber, or as a place of shelter in very bad weather.

At Clear Lake, the Indians, apprehending treachery while plotting treachery themselves, had secretly concealed their bows and arrows, inside, around the edge of the temescal, for immediate use. The little fire in the center furnished the only light, but it was sufficient to place their victims fully in sight.

After some parleying following the feast, the Indians invited the Mexican Californians to enter the temescal for a further talk. The Indians were entirely naked, except for tufts of down of water fowl, stuck in spots on their bodies with pitch. They had a dance and the Mexicans danced with them. While so engaged, an Indian or two prematurely exposed to view some of the bows and arrows which a couple of Indians had passed out when the fire became low. One of the Californians threw a little more wood on the fire to get more light, and this showed the Indians arming for the destruction of their intended victims. The Californians then quickly withdrew, filled the passage way with brush, and set fire to it. The temescal became a roaring furnace, consuming the Indians and the temescal itself, and leaving only a pile of charred poles, ashes, and a mound of earth.

The Californians had simply turned the tables on the treacherous Indians, who plotted to entrap and put them to death but had themselves become the victims of their own treachery. The Californians then gathered all the squaws and children, and drove them down into Napa Valley to go to work.

The result of this holocaust served to consolidate the other tribes north of San Francisco Bay and its tributaries to, and beyond, the southern Oregon line, against the Spanish Californians and the Americans alike, which continued for years after the acquisition of California by the United States.

The cattle and horses in the Clear Lake country multiplied largely, but the owner, Don Salvador Vallejo, no longer a Mexican army officer with men under his command, was unable to go and take charge of his own property. He sold the livestock to two men, Andrew Kelsey and —— Stone, who removed there from Sonoma. They cultivated the friendship of a large tribe of Indians in the Clear Lake Valley or basin, employed some of them, and paid them well for their services as *vaqueros* in herding cattle and breaking wild horses to the saddle. They ate at the same table after their employers were done, and had ample food; but one morning in the early spring of 1850, while their employers were seated at the table, eating their breakfast, two of the Indians, one named Prieto and the other George, treacherously murdered Kelsey and Stone[84] by shooting them with the rifles they had secretly got possession of. The news of the murder first reached William Anderson, who was living at Lower Lake. He rode over to learn the facts, but was driven back; and on his return to Lower Lake, he found the local tribe at that place assembled and being harangued by an Indian, who was standing on a high rock above the lake and urging that tribe also to commence hostilities against the whites. He at once shot the Indian, who leaped into the lake, but was pulled ashore; whereupon Anderson dressed his wound and christened him "Sam Patch," a name he afterwards bore.

The people of Sonoma, Russian River and Napa Valley were aroused at the prospect of an Indian war at their very doors, when so many of the men were away at the mines. However, an armed party was got together, which proceeded to scout along the valleys and across the summit of the Coast Range down into the basin of Clear Lake and its tributaries. They at last discovered several hundred Indians, massed on an island on which there was a large *rancheria* or cluster of huts built of mud and tules (rushes) and out of reach of gun shot. Large numbers of the Indians came to the water's edge in attitudes of defiance; and some of them who spoke Spanish indulged in insulting epithets and derision. As this could not openly be resented by the armed force of citizens, they returned home and appealed to the Commander of the Department of California at Monterey for protection by the United States troops. He ordered Captain Nathaniel Lyon, with two companies of the 2nd Infantry and one company of dragoons, to proceed *via* Benicia and punish the Indians at Clear Lake and vicinity. On their arrival at Benicia, wagon-bodies were removed from their running gear and large whale boats with oars were substituted, in which their supplies, ammunition, and a mountain howitzer were placed. The troops took their departure for the work they had before them, and how well it was performed, the following copy of the official report [85] of Captain Nathaniel Lyon will tell.

HEADQUARTERS CLEAR LAKE EXPEDITION,
Anderson's Rancho, May 22, 1850.

Sir: In compliance with department orders (special) No. 44, I proceeded from Monterey to Benicia, where I arrived on the night of the 4th instant, and the next morning took command of the expedition designed to proceed against the Indians on Clear lake and Pit river, by virtue of Major Seawell's order of that date, (a copy of which is herewith enclosed,) and setting out next day (6th) from Benicia, I reached this position, at the south end of Clear lake, on the 11th. The next day the dragoon company (Lieut. Davidson) was detached round the western shores of the lake to co operate with the infantry, to proceed by water up the lake. The Indians, on learning our approach, fled to an island at the northern extremity of the lake, opposite to which, and on the western shore of the lake, the command took position on the afternoon of the 14th, the Indians still gathering rapidly on the island. Lieut. Davidson, with Lieut. Haynes (mountain howitzer,) attacked a rancho on the morning of this day, killing four and securing an Indian chief. Early on the morning of the 15th, the two shores being guarded, the landing on the island was effected, under a strong opposition from the Indians, who, perceiving us once upon their island, took flight directly, plunging into the water, among the heavy growth of tula which surrounds the islands, and which on the eastern and northern sides extends to the shores. Having rapidly cleared the island, I saw no alternative but to pursue them into the tula, and accordingly orders were given that the ammunition be slung around the necks of the men, and they proceed into the tula and pursue and destroy as far as possible. The tula was thus thoroughly searched, with severe and protracted efforts, and with most gratifying results. The number killed I confidently report at not less than sixty, and doubt little that it extended to a hundred and upwards. The Indians were supposed to be in number about 400. Their fire upon us was not effective, and no injury to the command occurred. The rancheria, extending about half way around the island, was burnt, together with a large amount of stores collected in it. Being satisfied that the Indian tribes on Russian River had participated in the murders of Stone and Kelsey and were now harboring one or two tribes known to be the most guilty, I now proceeded to the headwaters of that river, seeking first a tribe whose chief is called Chapo; but finding the rancheria deserted to which my guide led me as his, I caused a thorough but ineffectual search to be made in the vicinity, and then proceeded down the river for about twenty-two miles to a tribe called the Yohaiyaks, among whom was Preesta and his tribe, the most active participants in the atrocious murders. I found them early on the morning of the 19th, on an island formed by a slough from Russian river, which was covered with dense undergrowth, and in the part where the Indians were mostly concealed were many trees, both dead and alive, in a horizontal position, interwoven with a heavy growth of vines. Their position being entirely surrounded, they were attacked under most embarrassing circumstances; but as they could not escape, the island soon became a perfect slaughter pen, as they continued to fight with great resolution and vigor till every jungle was routed. Their number killed I confidently report at not less than seventy-five, and have little doubt it extended to nearly double that number. I estimate their whole number as somewhat greater than those on the island before mentioned. They were bold and confident, making known their position in shouts of encouragement to their men and of defiance to us. Two of their shots took effect, wounding somewhat severely Corporal Kerry and private Patrick Coughtin, company "G," the former in the shoulder and the latter in the thigh. A body of Indians supposed to have been concerned in the outrages at Kelsey's rancho, and who it was believed were harboring one of the tribes known to have been concerned in the Kelsey murder, lay about ten miles below; and in order that action might promptly be taken against them, according to the circumstances in which they might be found, I detached Lieutenant Davidson with his (dragoon) company, to proceed hastily to the spot, so as to anticipate an alarm from the events just mentioned, and obtaining, with the assistance of Fernando Feliz, upon whose land these Indians lived, the facts, he was instructed to act accordingly. On arriving at Fernando Feliz's rancho he found the Indians had fled through fear. The intelligence that the hostile tribe was harbored by them proved unfounded, and no definite intelligence that they had participated in the murder aforesaid was ascertained. During our passage down Russian river an Indian was taken captive, who communicated some very unexpected intelligence – that some citizens (Spanish) had instigated the Indians against the Americans, confirming in this respect the hints previously thrown out to me by several persons. Lieutenant Davidson informed me that if this statement were true, the evidence of it must be found among the agents of these individuals, (Spanish,) and that the agents were living on the road to Sonoma; and at that place I accordingly detached Lieut. Davidson, to proceed to Benicia by way of Sonoma, taking with him the wounded, and charged to obtain all the information possible upon the subject above mentioned, and to act accordingly; while the Indian who communicated the intelligence was despatched with the promise to bring his chief and principal people to the head of the lake, and meet me to-morrow; and should they meet me and confirm his statement, I shall endeavor to secure enough of them to establish the facts, and send them in safety to Benicia.

Leaving the valley of the Russian river, I proceeded across the mountains dividing the waters of the river from those of the lake; and after two days' march, arrived yesterday, about 2 o'clock, p. m., at this place.

Submitting respectfully the above brief account, I reserve for a more convenient opportunity a detailed report, to be accompanied with a map, which I shall furnish at an early day.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your most obediant servant,

N. LYON,
Brevet Captain 2d Infantry, Commanding Expedition.

Major E. R. S. CANBY,
Assistant Adjutant General, Monterey, California

HEADQUARTERS TENTH MILITARY DEPARTMENT
Monterey May 30, 1850.

Official copy:
Ed. R. S. CANBY, *Assistant Adjutant General.*

Captain Lyon was rather too modest in his report. There were not less than four hundred warriors killed and drowned at Clear Lake and as many more of squaws and children who plunged into the lake and drowned, through fear, committing suicide. So in all, about eight hundred Indians found a watery grave in Clear Lake.

Late in July 1850, a company was formed, composed of my former employers at Sacramento and others, who had bought the horses and cattle at Clear Lake from the estate of Kelsey and Stone. I was employed as clerk and some twenty men were hired as *vaqueros*. Moses and Lindsay Carson (half-brothers of the famous "Kit Carson") joined the company, and, with pack horses and supplies and all of us well armed, we left Sonoma for Clear Lake Valley, the scene of the recent hostilities, by way of Santa Rosa and Fitch's [86] Rancho on the Russian River, where Healdsburgh now stands. We traveled slowly and went into camp just below the adobe house where the murder of Kelsey and Stone by the Indians had taken place. We saw no Indians, but their signals of smoke across the lake and on the mountains were quite numerous. A large corral was built, and in ten days about two thousand head of cattle and fifty or more horses were rounded up, ready to be driven across the mountains to the Sacramento Valley. The most of the men employed had belonged to the original "Bear Flag Party," and Andrew Kelsey and his brothers Samuel and Benjamin had united with them.

When the time came to drive the great band of cattle and horses out, it was found that the rifles would be in the way; and it was finally decided to leave them behind, with myself and three dogs in charge. The adobe house was strengthened for a fort, and with provisions and an abundance of ammunition and about twenty-five loaded rifles, I was left alone to resist a siege.

"O solitude, where are thy charms
That sages have seen in thy face?
Better dwell in the midst of alarms,
Than reign in this horrible place."

So might have sung Robinson Crusoe;[87] but he had his man Friday for company, while I had only my dogs to talk to, and they were alert and on watch day and night. Fortunately, in the daytime there was a white hen that had been left behind and had become wild in the brush near by. She faithfully performed "picket" duty, and picked up the crumbs I scattered for her on post.

About dusk, the Indians, who were well mounted, would drive horses and cattle into the corral and amuse themselves by wantonly shooting them with arrows. After the wounded animals had made their escape, I could hear them moan in their agony out on the plain at night. It got to be monotonous, and my sympathy for the poor animals nearly overcame my discretion. Finally I could stand it no longer. Tying up my dogs and armed with my two Colt's revolvers, I crept down to the corral one afternoon and lay down under a dried bullock's hide inside the fence, to await the matinee performance.

As it began to grow dark the Indians came, driving in about fifty horses, mares, and colts. They dismounted and crawled up to the corral fence, where they commenced their fiendish work not ten feet in front of me. Some were on the other side, too. I emptied one revolver, rushed between the horses to that side, and fired at them with more effect. Then I ran out with the horses in the dust, and reached the old adobe house, where I fired off three rifles in quick succession in the direction of the corral, while the Indians were still yelling, but with a different tone. I was now somewhat excited, and dripping with perspiration, while my dogs yelped in chorus.

There was no sleep for me that night, and I rested with a rifle in my hands; but that sort of cruelty by the Indians ceased. In about three weeks the Company and their *vaqueros* returned for another band of cattle. I insisted, however, on removal of the office of the clerk, which was done, to Coyote Valley, where some of the cattle were being herded. There was a log house with comfortable bunks at Coyote Valley, also a peaceable tribe of Indians we could employ, among whom was "Sam Patch."

At Clear Lake the Indians continued to be mischievous and devilish. Finally, half a dozen of us – Thomas Price, John Price, John Depp, Granville Grigsby, two others and myself – started one afternoon on horseback for the lake. We arrived in the valley at dark, but continued on for several miles to where there was good grass for our horses. We halted here for the night but did not unsaddle, and in that way got what rest we could.

Just at break of day, we remounted our horses and followed a trail, which led down into a creek bottom where several other trails came together. The luxuriant grass was as tall as our horses' backs. Soon we heard the sound of an ax coming from a dense patch of thicket, where the Indians had fortified themselves by felled trees, the tops and branches being placed outward and the whole heavily interwoven with thick vines. We divided out little party into three, one to hold the horses, and the others to enter the thicket by two separate trails but within supporting distance of each other. We had scarcely taken our positions when three stalwart warriors, armed with bows and arrows, came out on the war path. My party with Thomas Price shot the chief who was in the lead, and the other party shot the last Indian, while the middle one got away although he was badly wounded.

Immediately the whole tribe of several hundred Indians began giving the war hoop. We got our horses, rode out onto the bluff, reloaded, and waited for events to develop, but the Indians did not come out. We then returned to Coyote Valley; and after being reinforced went again to Clear Lake, taking along with us a friendly Indian whom we sent with a flag of truce, in order to get the hostile Indians to come out and treat for peace.

A day was fixed for them to meet us, and several bullocks were slain for the feast. About sixty armed warriors appeared. We made them lay down their bows and arrows, and cook and eat their meat first, which they did. We had them agree, right then and there, to send for their squaws and little ones; and stipulated that all of them should come out and live in the open, and go to work, and build fences and corrals. We agreed to pay them for this work until all the cattle and horses were taken away; otherwise we would not leave one of them alive. They submitted to our terms, and soon the whole tribe of over five hundred appeared with their movables and began to build their rancheria, corrals and fences, and thus the Indian war in that part of the State came to an end. Mule loads of calico and clothing were distributed to them. Most of the stock, driven to the Sacramento Valley by contract with Matt Harbin,[88] and the clerk's office were removed to the mouth of Cache Creek canyon. In December 1850 the Company, in debt, was dissolved, and all I received of what was owing to me were two colts, which I had broken to the saddle myself.

With the experience of a flood lasting for months at Sacramento and a fire at San Francisco, I determined to go to Sonoma. Mounting one of my colts, and leading the other, I started alone in a heavy rain storm by the trail which led across the mountains, Berryessa's [89] and Pope's valleys [90] and down the Howell Mountain [91] to Napa Valley, and arrived at an empty log cabin at dark, wet through, cold and hunrgy, but at least out of the pelting storm.

I picketed my colts where there was good feed. In the night, however, I was aroused by whinnying and the sound of splashing water by my colts.

I found them swimming at the ends of the ropes I had tied around their necks. It was intensely dark, but I felt my way through the water to the poor animals and thence along the ropes to reach the picket pins, but I had to dive down in order to pull them up. I then swam out and led the two colts up on the bank, where I left them to feed if they would. I had to wait until daylight to see where we were. Then I saddled the strongest of the two colts and swam them across Napa Creek, which by that time was a roaring river. I soon got over to the west side to Jack York's ranch, where I was given a good horn of whiskey and a mighty good breakfast; after which I resumed my journey in the rain, and about ten o'clock that night I arrived at the Old Sonoma Hotel, kept by Pierce and Randolph, from which I had started nearly six months before. After having my horses provided for, I had a good supper, though it was late, and, all worn out, I went to bed.

The next morning I was so stiff that I could hardly move; but I was grateful that I had got back to civilization again. It kept on raining, but I paid my way by writing and copying until I could do better. And as opportunity afforded, I sold my horses for a good price, and for the next three years my home was fixed in the historic town of Sonoma.

Little did the bachelor Padre Altimira, who founded the Mission of San Francisco de Solano at Sonoma on August 25, 1823, think of celebrating my birthday six years before I was born – on the Atlantic coast, only a few miles inland from Plymouth Rock!

The town of Sonoma was laid out in 1831 by General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo. Barracks were built and quarters for officers, and a tall square tower of observation about one hundred feet high, adjoining the headquarters on the north side of a large plaza or public square. Buildings of adobe also occupied the three other sides of the plaza.

There were two 18-pounders and four field pieces of artillery, with ammunition for the small garrison of Spanish California troops, under the Mexican flag, originally stationed here, when, on Sunday evening, June 14, 1846, Sonoma was captured by surprise by the now famous Bear Flag Party of American revolutionists. Gen. M. G. Vallejo, Capt. Salvador Vallejo (his brother), Lieut. Col. Victor Prudhomme, and Jacob P. Leese (Gen. Vallejo's brother-in-law) were made prisoners as hostages, and were sent under guard to Capt. John C. Fremont, U. S. A., commanding a U. S. Exploring Expedition, who was encamped near the Buttes in the Feather River Valley. Capt. Fremont took them to Sutter's Fort, near the junction of the Sacramento and American rivers, where they were confined, but were afterwards released on parole by the last order of Commodore Sloat, given at Monterey on the eve of his departure for Washington, July 29, 1846.

The members of the Bear Flag Party,[92] who raised the Bear Flag and proclaimed the "California Republic" at Sonoma, were Ezekiel Merritt, William B. Ide, John Grigsby, Robert Semple, Henry Beeson, H. L. Ford, Wm. Todd, Wm. Fallon, Wm. Knight, Wm. Hargrave, Samuel Kelsey, G. P. Swift, Samuel Gibson, Wm. W. Scott, Thomas Cowie, Wm. B. Elliott, Thomas Knight, Horace Sanders, Henry Booker, David Hudson, John Sears, J. H. Kelley, C. C. Griffith, Peter Storm, Harvey Porterfield, John Scott, Ira Stebbins, Marion Wise, ——— Ferguson, Patrick McChristian, Bartlett Vines, John Gibbs, George W. Williams, Andrew Kelsey, Benjamin Kelsey and Benjamin Dewell, most of whom settled in Sonoma and Napa valleys, and with whom I became personally acquainted.

On my return to Sonoma in December 1850, I found that a considerable change had taken place in the increase and character of its population. The town was incorporated by act of the first legislature as a result of the efforts of Gen. M. G. Vallejo, the first senator from the Sonoma District, who also was the chairman[93] of the senate committee on counties and their boundaries. This committee divided the State into 27 counties, giving them their names, their derivation, and lines of demarcation, beginning at San Diego and thence northward to the Oregon line.

The organization of Sonoma County was somewhat amusing. Mr. Robert Hopkins, a carpenter from Vermont, who knew no law, was elected district judge. Mr. H. A. Green, of like erudition, was the county judge who examined Mr. John [J. E.] McNair (a young man and the school teacher) and admitted him to the bar, examining him as to his legal capacity while playing ten-penny-nail poker, with a crowd looking on. The judge asked him the meaning of *animo furandi.* McNair replied, "Anger when furiously animated." "You are admitted," said Judge Green, and swore him into office. The true meaning is: intention of stealing! However, by application and study he improved in time, and became a fair lawyer. The county clerk was a Dr. John Hendley, who had been assistant surgeon in a Missouri volunteer regiment in the Mexican War. Israel Brockman, a Missourian, was elected sheriff. Alex. C. McDonald, ex-sergeant-major of Col. J. D. Stevenson's regiment of New York Volunteers, was elected treasurer, and E. T. Peabody county surveyor; and so the county government was organized with Sonoma the county seat.

The town government was somewhat different, ex-members of Stevenson's regiment being prominent in its organization. For the first two years the records were poorly kept, and the "Sonoma Bulletin," a weekly journal published by A. J. Cox, also of Stevenson's regiment, was relied upon for the reports of the town council, supplied by myself as associate editor. The first record now to be found is about an election, held for the years 1853–4, when the following were chosen: mayor, Robert Hopkins; councilmen, Jesse Davidson, W. Ryder, Israel Brockman, David Cook, William M. Boggs; clerk, Edwin A. Sherman; city attorney, Frank [W.] Shattuck; city assessor, Benjamin Mitchell; city treasurer, George W. Miller; city marshal, John Sharkey.

The science of civil government, state, county, and municipal, had to be learned as well as practiced as they went along, for nearly all were beginners. Almost at the very start of our term, the major (who was once Master also of the new Masonic Lodge) stole its funds and decamped, and was never heard from, leaving a lovely wife and baby boy to the tender mercies of mankind.

The Lodge was new, being Temple No. 14[94] in the State, and partly composed of officers of the U. S. Army. Lieut. George H. Derby was its Master and Lieut. George Stoneman its secretary. Sonoma in 1851 had become the headquarters of Gen. Persifer F. Smith, commanding the Pacific Division, with Lieut. Col. Joseph Hooker as assistant adjutant-general, Major Philip Kearney, Capt. Alfred Gibbs and other staff officers, who made additional brilliant records afterwards in our Civil War.

Lieut. Stoneman, commanding a large company of dragoons, was stationed there, and also Lieut. Derby of the U. S. Topographical Engineers.

I aided the latter in preparing some of the jewels (made of tin) and some of the working paraphernalia of the Lodge, as prescribed in the Monitor, though I was not then a Mason. I had deferred my application until my return to my old home in Boston. However, in some preliminary outside work of initiation, I rendered assistance not provided for in the ritual; Derby, being an inveterate joker,[95] would have his addenda.

Derby, with Peabody (the county surveyor), secured my assistance in surveying the Santa Rosa Rancho, about twenty miles from Sonoma, where the City of Santa Rosa now stands. But two houses were there then, one being occupied by the owner, Julio Carrillo, the brother-in-law of Gen. Vallejo. The rancho covered several leagues of land, upon which were thousands of cattle and hundreds of horses, as on all other Spanish grants in California.

Carrillo, hearing Derby and Peabody talking in English about the Lodge and Masonry, which was all Greek to him, became anxious to learn about it, and I was asked to interpret for him, which I did. He was delighted to be informed, and inquired the cost. He was told that it was one hundred and fifty dollars with all the extras; but that it was necessary for him to have a fine new branding iron, made of polished steel, for branding every animal that he should afterwards sell or give away, to show that it was a perfect animal, and that he must first be branded with it himself! After studying a little over it, he said, "Esta bueno!" (that is good). He then gave Derby an order for the money in Sonoma, and signed the petition to the Lodge that Derby wrote out for him; and in due time it was presented to the Lodge for its action. Carrillo was elected and the time set for his initiation.

Derby came to me, saying that he was in a fix and that I must help him out. The new branding iron of polished steel had been made by Turner the blacksmith, and I had an Indian carry up some large adobe bricks to my room in the second story, a little way off from the preparation room of the Lodge, where a small forge was set up. I obtained the loan of a large hand bellows from Don Pepe, a California silversmith, who made ornaments for saddles and bridles. I also procured about a gallon of charcoal and a piece of rawhide with the hair on it, and make everything ready for Section 1 of that initiation, not provided for in the ritual. When the time came and the candidate was ready, the branding iron was ready, too, and was handed to Derby who, with a piece of paper between it and the flesh, quickly applied it to the candidate's left hip, at the same time that I put the piece of rawhide on the burning coals. Carrillo exclaimed fiercely, "Es bastante, es bastante!" (it is enough!), the smell of the burning hide making him think it was his own flesh that was burning, as he was blindfolded and could not see. After the first reception and he returned to the preparation room, he wanted to see where he had been burned, but could see no sear, and therefore thought it was a miracle. He received the other degrees and made a good Mason, of whom I shall make mention hereafter.

One Sunday afternoon in 1851, a very pious Missouri Methodist, brought up on the frontier near Arkansas, who could scarcely read and was unable to write, went around ringing a large bell and informing the people that there would be preaching at the schoolhouse at early candlelight. This started nearly everybody in town to get ready and go. Derby and I had had a late dinner at the Union Hotel, and he said to me, "Let's go to church." I agreed, and added: "But let's be modest and wait a little, and then take a back seat." When we arrived at the church, nearly everybody seemed to have had the same intention, and we were compelled to be seated almost under the nose of Rev. Mr. Symonds, the preacher. His subjct was "The Efficacy of Prayer." He preached a very good sermon on it, and at its close he invited the frontiersman, who had rung the bell giving notice of the meeting, to continue the subject by an exhortation.

The old bell-ringer gave a very ranting and vehement talk and, as a clincher to his argument, said: "Show me a man who ever got to heaven without pra'r, and I will show you a white crow!" Derby arose in a very serious manner. He took a memorandum book from his pocket and a lead pencil, and, holding them out, he approached the exhorter, saying: "My dear Sir, will you please be so kind as to put your proposition in writing?" The old fellow stood aghast. It was a scene for Hogarth's talent. The schoolhouse was immediately emptied, most of the congregation with suppressed mirth starting for home, without waiting for the benediction or the doxology.

At one time I received an invitation from Mr. William D. Canfield and family, originally from Vermont, to visit them at their new home near Bloomfield, not far from Bodega, which I accepted. They had removed there from Sonoma. He had been employed as a blacksmith at the Mission of Dr. Marcus Whitman near Walla Walla, in what is now the State of Washington. At the time of the massacre by the Indians at that place, Canfield was wounded, but made his escape and hid along the edge of the Columbia River. His family, consisting of his wife, two sons and three daughters, were captured, and, after being held prisoners, were ransomed by Dr. Ogden, a factor in the Hudson's Bay Company. Finally they were restored to Canfield who meanwhile had recovered at Vancouver on the Columbia River. They afterwards came to California and located at Sonoma, from whence they removed to a farm near Bloomfield in Sonoma County.

As I was riding along on horseback on my return toward Sonoma, I met a couple of young men, who appeared much excited and asked me if I had "heard the news." I inquired "What news?" And they replied that the people in Sonoma and Napa valleys were up in arms, because all the babies at the ball [96] had been mixed up, so that no mother had the right one. I at once hastened my speed to Sonoma, and found people very angry and threatening all sorts of punishment to the perpetrators of the outrage. I learned that in the rear room of the hall where the ball was held, a dozen or so cots had been set up, upon which the mothers placed their babies and their wraps; and that while they were dancing, the babies had been shifted around, their clothes changed, and the ladies' wraps left in confusion. Some mothers found, on arriving home early in the morning, that they had boys instead of girls, who would not draw their nourishment from strange maternal fountains, and who were vociferous in their protestations and would not be comforted. General indignation prevailed; but how was it best to remedy the situation?

Some of the army officers, who had attended the ball, were severely silent and suspicious. It was decided, however, to have another and better ball at once, the babies to be brought back and, after the closest inspection, each mother was to be certain in the selection of her own. The new ball was held with the greatest vigor and maternal watchfulness. Tony Oakes, the favorite caterer of the town, got up the supper and did his very best. At the close, the floor manager called the mothers who had babies there, together, and each one received an order for twenty-five dollars worth of goods on the French Dry Goods Store, below, in the same building. Some time afterwards, Derby told me that the second ball cost him about five hundred dollars, and that he had to get Lieut. Stoneman, who was at that time the secretary of the Masonic Lodge, to help him out. Derby was soon after ordered to San Francisco, where his impromptu spirit for joking had a larger field of operations and in which he neglected no opportunity to practice.

Not long after this, his mother wrote Derby that she was coming to California by steamer, to visit him. On the way out, the sturdy old lady was seated on a camp stool near the cabin door, and the sea was pretty rough. All of a sudden the steamer gave a pitch and a roll, and she was spread out like a sea turtle, flat upon the deck. The purser, coming along, helped her to her feet and seated her in a very unsteady chair. Her dignity was intensely ruffled; but the only remark she made was, "The man who wrote 'Life on the Ocean Wave' was a fool!" When the steamer was signaled from Point Lobos, Lieut. Derby with a cavalcade of *vaqueros* proceeded with a carriage to the wharf, which was crowded with people, awaiting the arrival of their friends. He went quickly on board and stood at her open cabin window. She was so overjoyed to see him that, leaning far out to kiss him, she got stuck, and with great effort he had to push her back. "It would be easier and more convenient," he told her, "for you to come out through the doorway!" After giving directions to an expressman about her baggage, Derby led her down the gangplank to a carriage and, escorted by the *vaqueros* in their silver-mounted trappings, they were soon at their hotel, where a reception was held after dinner. About three months afterwards, she was escorted in the same manner to the steamer on her return home . . . I shall refer to Derby again on other pages.

Tony Oakes, who, as has already been said was the caterer for the second ball, was one of the most popular citizens of Sonoma and the proprietor of a first-class restaurant, always supplied with the finest game, furred and feathered, from the hills and valleys round about. He was urbane and courteous, exerted himself to the utmost to please his patrons, and was highly esteemed by all. Not a great while after the events just recounted, Tony removed to San Francisco, and finally to Hayward in Alameda County, where his hotel became a popular resort and where he died a few years ago, greatly lamented by all who had known him. I attended his funeral and spoke a few words eulogizing his character. His children reside there, are highly respected, and publish the Hayward *Journal*,[97] which is well edited and deserves success.

A sad change came over the spirit of Sonoma's dreams of municipal advancement and greatness. Three distinct blows of public calamity, occurring at short intervals, awaited her, and civic progress was to be for many years suspended.

The first calamity was the removal of Army Headquarters [to Benicia and later] to San Francisco and the withdrawal of the garrison. Gen. Persifer F. Smith and staff were ordered to New Mexico. Lieut.-Col. Joseph Hooker, assistant adjutant-general, resigned and retired to his ranch, to save his large crops of grain from being sacrificed. He was soon afterwards nominated for assemblyman on the Democratic ticket; but he and his opponent, a Mr. Bennett, tied, and he would not run again. The second calamity was the vote to remove the county seat to Santa Rosa; and the third, was the pestilence of smallpox, which became epidemic and largely fatal, causing the town, partially abandoned and quarantined, to go into mourning for its dead.

This was very discouraging to the inhabitants of Sonoma generally, and especially disappointing to Gen. Vallejo, its founder. He had built a fine new house near a spring at the foot of the mountain, northwest of the town, and had named it "Lachryma Montis" (Tears of the Mountain). But he had also located the site of Vallejo for the State capital, and Benicia (the Christian name of his wife), and had entered into partnership with Thomas O. Larkin, former U. S. Consul at Monterey, and with Dr. Robert Semple, one-time secretary of the "California Republic" of the Bear Flag Party, who had also been president of the Constitutional Convention at Monterey, of which Gen. Vallejo had been a member. This co-partnership was formed for the construction of vessels and the improvement of navigation on the bays, and on the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers. His plan for Vallejo as the State capital failed for want of funds, and it was finally and permanently located at Sacramento. In 1852, however, Commodore Sloat located the U. S. Navy Yard at Mare Island, directly opposite the town of Vallejo; but it was not until 1854 that formal possession was taken by the U. S. Government, represented by Admiral [then Captain] David Farragut, the first commandant, and operations commenced. These events established the permanency and prosperity of what is now, and for many years has been, an incorporated city named in honor of its founder, Gen. Vallejo.

In the latter part of December 1850, I went to San Francisco on a business trip and put up at a hotel that was somewhat crowded with miners and newcomers, bent on making acquaintances and gathering information. Among them was a quiet, unpretentious young man, a newcomer. He was approached by a bluff miner, who asked him, "And what are you going to do in California?" He modestly replied, "I am going to start a female seminary." At this remark, nearly the whole crowd broke out in uproarious laughter at what they considered a very ridiculous absurdity; for a woman in those days, even in San Francisco, was a rare curiosity. The young man felt abashed at having unwittingly made himself a laughing stock, and it aroused my sympathy for him. So I spoke up and said: "Gentlemen, you need not laugh at his proposition. If he will go with me to Sonoma and Napa, he can get enough young ladies to make a good start for a female seminary." After a little chat, he concluded to go with me to Sonoma, and we went two days later on the schooner *Susanita*. I introduced him to several families in Sonoma, then went to Napa and finally to Benicia, where I recommended that he locate. It was the easiest of access because of its position on the river and bay routes of travel between San Francisco and the interior. He heartily approved my suggestions, settled there, and founded "The Benicia Female Seminary."[98]

On my return to Sonoma, I went and congratulated Gen. Vallejo on having the first young ladies' seminary in California in his town of Benicia, at which he was greatly pleased and thanked me. But, soon after, another educational institution was to be commenced there, which for a short period became a landmark for travelers by water.

One of my company from Philadelphia had left us at Tepic, Mexico, in order to get ahead of us, and had started off with another person for San Blas, to take ship from there, while the rest of us had continued on up the coast to Mazatlan. The schooner he embarked on was unseaworthy and had run into Cape St. Lucas, where she was condemned; and he had to foot it seven hundred miles up that long barren peninsula to San Diego. Nearly naked and barefoot, he had arrived in San Diego on August 11, 1849, two and three-fourth months after the rest of us had landed in San Francisco on the 24th of May previous. Pity was taken on the poor man, and the steamer that had next put into San Diego for coal brought him up to San Francisco. As he was a professor and educator, he started in 1852 to found a "Boys' College" at Benicia, for where girls are, there must be boys also. He was "going to have something permanent and lasting," and entered into contracts for the burning and delivery of the bricks and the construction of the buildings. The site was to be on prominent high ground, with beautiful Mt. Diablo and the valleys and hills of Contra Costa County in the distance, and with Suisun and San Pablo bays, Carquinez Straits, and the little town of Martinez, nestled among the hills, in front. It was indeed a fine location, but as Bobbie Burns has truly said, "The best laid schemes o' mice an' men gang aft a-gley."

He first caused to be erected of brick, and with doors painted white, nearly twenty-five houses (for men only), all in a row, which looked like bath houses, but were far away from any water. His funds gave out, and *he put out*, and was not seen in San Francisco for nearly fifteen years. People on steamboats and vessels carrying passengers on the rivers, who inquired, "What are those small buildings up there in a row on the hill yonder?" would receive for reply, "That is Blake's College!" [99] and that was all they could learn about it.

Subsequently they were torn down. The bricks went into the County Court House of Solano County, now the Benicia City Hall, in which for a brief period the State Capitol was located when the legislature was removed from Vallejo.

Business and enterprise materially waned in Sonoma. People were gradually leaving during the fall of 1853; and as I had received a letter informing me that my second sister, Mary, next younger than myself, had got married, I resigned my office as city clerk and arranged my affairs so as to leave on the next steamer for Panama and pay a visit to my old home in Boston, from which I had been absent for over eight years. The steamer that I had expected to take passage on was the *Winfield Scott*, but it was wrecked on Anacapa Island, below Santa Barbara. I then secured passage on the steamship *Oregon*. Capt. Hudson was commander, Lewis D. Watkins, formerly of Sonoma, purser, and with Mr. Joshua G. Brackett, also of Sonoma, I steamed out of the Golden Gate on Saturday, December 31, 1853, the last day of the month and of the year.

The bar was very rough when crossing it, but we were soon in the deep blue water of the Pacific Ocean. Turning to the southeastward, we ran, head on, into the teeth of a gale and wet weather for four days, when a change for the better took place. The full stomachs of the majority of the passengers at the start became as empty as a miner's buckskin bag after a long spree, but voracious appetites soon returned. In eight days we arrived at Acapulco, where we had to stop for coal and water. Being among the first to go ashore and able to talk Spanish, I soon reached the little market place; and before the steward could get there, I had bought all the oval hen fruit for sale in town. Eggs were very scarce, as all the hens were on strike, owing to a revolution in cockfighting and the fatalities in the cock pit.

After visiting the old fort and a few other points of interest, and hearing the steamer's whistle blowing, I went on board again, and soon we were underway for Panama. My friend Brackett and I had seats at the purser's table, and as there was not any cow on board, nor any condensed or sterilized milk, we had egg cream for our coffee, which we shared with all at our table. In a week more, we arrived at the anchorage off Panama, where we got into large boats, rowed by natives and negroes, which took us to shallow water, a half mile out from shore. Then there was a scene that beggars description. Some few staid old ladies, not lean by any means, and three or four brides on their wedding trips, were the first to mount their dusky steeds, hug them around the neck, the ladies' feet and legs being held fast, and in this way the natives carried their burdens on their backs to dry land. Some fat men also had to be carried ashore. Brackett and myself, seeing this state of affairs, promptly divested ourselves of our foot wear and pants, which we carried in our hands while we waded the half mile of shallow water to the shore; but the bottom was rough and made our feet very tender. Some three or four German women in the steerage and nearly all the male passengers had to follow suit.

Waiting for our limited baggage to be landed (which soon arrived, thanks to Purser Watkins), we passed the old Spanish fortification, entered the gate in the wall, and taking the narrow street in front of the Cathedral, we reached our hotel where we remained over night. It rained all the time. The air was hot and steamy, but, with one sheet for covering, we enjoyed our rest on a cot.

We sweated through the night. After an early breakfast, I mounted a stout young mule, half broken to the saddle, and with Brackett and the other passengers started out to cross the Isthmus in a heavy downpour of rain. It lasted until we reached the summit near Gorgona. Then, pushing along down the eastern slope we arrived at Las Cruces on the Chagres River, where we stopped for a late dinner. Resuming our journey, we continued on to Aspinwall or Colon. Here we remained at a hotel over night, under mosquito bars and sharing our slumbers with myriads of small red ants of ante-diluvian origin.

At ten o'clock the next morning, we embarked on the steamship *Ohio* for New York. By late afternoon, we were under way, and at night were rocked to sleep on the bosom of the Caribbean Sea. The weather and sea, however, became very rough in a day or two, and the racking noise of the apparently loose upper works of the steamer, when she would pitch and roll and shake herself, made it seem doubtful of her reaching New York. Life preservers were overhauled and put in readiness under the pillows at the heads of our berths, for we did not know but that cork might be our destination instead of land.

The weather became intensely cold, and we who had no overcoats stayed below or hugged the smoke stack on deck. We arrived at New York on the last day of January 1854, and Brackett and myself put up at the Clinton Hotel. The next morning we took the train for Boston where we arrived at night in a driving snow storm, and put up at the United States Hotel near by. The next morning we parted, he going to his old home in New Hampshire, and I taking a Broadway omnibus for South Boston, a little more than a mile distant. I finally arrived at my old home, which I had not seen since September 1845 – a period of eight years and four months.

My appearance there was a great surprise to my father's family, and I was welcomed as the *Probable* Son. Besides my father and stepmother, I found at home my second sister Mary, and her husband (Mr. Jacob Haskell), and my own youngest sister, Elizabeth, a graduate of the State Normal School at Bridgewater and the assistant of Dr. Samuel G. Howe, the head of the Perkins Institute for the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind, whose wife was Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, the author afterwards of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic." Besides these, there were my half sisters Clara, Sarah, Filena, Flora, and Francena, and my half brother Leander. If there were any more that got away, I was not informed of it, though my youngest full brother, Samuel, was away in the country.

The weather seemed terribly cold, and after a few calls had been made upon me, which I returned to improve my time, I engaged a Professor Morris to teach me theoretical as well as practical surveying and civil engineering. I was with him six months, and a close student until one morning he was found kneeling by his bedside, with his Bible before him. He had made his last prayer, his soul was with his Maker; and from him, I had received my last instruction. I gathered up all my books, Davie's Surveying, Legendre, Hutton's Mathematics, and Mahan's Civil Engineering, and took them home, packing them up, as I could not study there any longer.

In the beginning of May, 1854, I petitioned for the degrees of Masonry to "Columbia Lodge of F. & A. M.," in Boston. I was elected, and on the first of June, following, I received the first degree of Masonry. On the sixth of June, by dispensation of the Grand Master, I was passed with four others to the degree of Fellow Craft, and raised to the Sublime Degree of Master Mason in Columbia Lodge, whose charter was signed by that hero of the American Revolution, Paul Revere, as Grand Master. I was granted a demit at the same time, as I intended soon to return to California. Mr. Wm. W. Wood, the father of my school mate, Wm. B. Wood, then in San Francisco, acted as Junior Warden of that Lodge, of which his son was also a member.

Receiving letters from Sonoma of a discouraging nature – that the town was going down and people moving away, that my attorneys, Maupin and Boggs, had died, and their office and its contents burned, my notes and papers all destroyed – I had to regard everything there as utterly lost and the place as having no further attractions for me at that time.

.....

While arranging my affairs to return to California, I witnessed an exciting scene in Court and State streets, Boston. It was the Federal military and judicial enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, in sending back to his master in Virginia the fugitive slave, Burns. The anger of nearly the whole people, like that of a mob, was at blood heat. They offered to pay the price of the slave, but the proposal was rejected. Batchelder, the deputy U. S. marshal, was killed by being stabbed with a sharp pointed wire. The slave, Burns, was guarded all the way down State Street to the wharf, placed on board a U. S. revenue cutter, and taken to Virginia. The people were furious. It was the precursor of what was to follow seven years later when Cobb of Georgia declared that he would call the roll of his slaves at the foot of the Bunker Hill Monument.

Having purchased my steamer ticket in Boston and bidden good-bye to my relatives and friends, I took the train to New York about the first of August [1854], and went at once to the steamer *Empire City* (to sail the next day for the Isthmus of Panama), on my return trip to California.

All was hurry and bustle, as usual on the eve of departure of a steamer, and much bidding good-bye to friends who had come to see the passengers off. Seeking my stateroom after I had seen my trunk safely on board, and placing my hand satchel and lighter things in my berth, I went on the upper deck to sit down and view the scene on the wharf. Soon I saw a commotion among the crowd, followed by cheering and laughter, with very funny remarks from the bystanders. Thereupon I observed a gentleman leading a little girl about twelve years old up the gang plank, and followed by two ladies dressed in brown linen "bloomers." They did not belong to his party; but in after years, in California, they became nearly as noted as he. It was the renowned explorer and the first U. S. senator from California, Col. John C. Fremont, and his little daughter, Elizabeth. I soon learned that his stateroom was next to mine, and that beyond his was Mrs. Frank Pixley's, who took the daughter under her motherly charge.

The gong sounded quickly. All visitors went ashore, the steamer got underway, and we left the great city behind us, passing out of the harbor through the Narrows by Fort Hamilton, and then Sandy Hook, to the blue and ever restless, heaving surface of the Atlantic Ocean.

I enjoyed my dinner; but the most of the passengers didn't, and were as uneasy as the ocean itself. It was hurricane weather when we passed Cape Hatteras and entered the Caribbean Sea; and one night about midnight, when it was very rough, the cry of "Fire!" rang through the steamship. I was quickly into my pants and boots, and out into the cabin which was in pandemonium. There was no criticising of the "bloomers" then; all was confusion, terror, and hysterics, and some, with but little clothing on, were shrieking and running to jump overboard.

Col. Fremont's little girl was in the stampede, and I caught and held her firmly, but it was like trying to hold a vigorous young wild cat. Col. Fremont, equally as cool as myself, was trying to hold Mrs. Pixley and another lady at the same time. Soon the word was given that it was a false alarm, and the female portion of the passengers collapsed.

A crazy man had caused all the panic; he was seized and gagged and tied to a boat on the upper deck. There was but little sleep the rest of the night. In the afternoon of the next day there was another alarm of "man overboard!" The steamer was stopped, a boat was lowered, and the body recovered. It was that of the crazy man of the night before, who had got loose and jumped overboard in front of the wheel, which had killed him. That evening he was buried at sea, to the great relief of everybody.

In three days more, we arrived at Aspinwall (Colon) and remained there overnight. A heavy drenching rain prevailed; but we boarded the train, and, about two o'clock P.M., arrived at the then terminus at Gorgona, where we had to wait without any shelter.

The downpour was awful, and everybody wet through and dripping. We had to wait there for the passengers coming through from California, so as to take their tired out mules with which to reach Panama. I went down the trail about half a mile where I met the agent and secured the first half dozen mules in the lead for Col. Fremont and party.

I secured the most obstinate mule for myself (for I knew he would take me through all right, as I was a good rider), and other animals for Col. Fremont, his daughter, Mrs. Pixley and her roommates, and one more mule in case anybody got left. The California passengers dismounted as they arrived. I hitched my two mules, while Col. Fremont, his daughter, Mrs. Pixley and another lady immediately mounted and started on. The two women in "bloomers," who never had ridden on horseback, were now in proper attire; for like all the rest they had to ride astride.

Barney Williams and his wife, the actors, met with a mishap. Her mule threw her over its head, and she was pitched head-first into a pool of mud, a little over three feet deep. I caught their mules, and held them, while Barney jumped into the mud, which was up to his waist, to save his wife; and with the help of others he got her out, washed her face and hands and rinsed the mud out of her mouth, and then gave her a strong drink of Cognac brandy to revive her. They exchanged mules and went on.

I waited until the last. There was a lady, a Mrs. Otignon, with her three children – a boy about ten years old, a daughter of eight years, besides a baby, going to join her husband in San Francisco – left with nobody to care for them, and they would have been left behind, but for my foresight. I helped her to mount the extra mule which I had fortunately secured, handed her baby up to her, and then placed the girl astride behind her mother, to whom I gave strict instructions to keep up close behind my mule. The boy I took behind me, on the mule's backbone without any blanket.

Then, mounting my mule and singing out "Whoop la mula!" I started at a fast pace, Mrs. Otignon's mule keeping up. Soon we had past all the others, arriving at Panama in the night, almost as soon as Col. Fremont and his party, and several hours before the others. I got a bottle of sweet oil, for Mrs. Otignon as well as her children were badly chafed. Supper was ready at the hotel, to which full justice was done. I sat up until after midnight. All the passengers had not then arrived. The next morning some few worn-out stragglers came in. Among them was a native with a white baby, only a belly band around its waist, with which the fellow was carrying it over his shoulder. We waited at the door for the mother to claim the child. She was a German woman, one of the steerage passengers.

The next day, which was Friday, we all had to remain ashore; but on Saturday morning at high tide, we were carried a few yards to the boats. From there we were rowed out to the steamer *Panama* and went on board to our respective staterooms, and then to the deck to watch the rest of the passengers come off, and come aboard. It continued to rain incessantly; but about midnight the gun was fired and we were underway.

The next day was Sunday, and as the sun came out, it was made "wash-day." Cleanliness being essential to godliness, the *Panama* was converted by the women into a floating steam laundry and drying house. Anybody having a string was compelled to surrender it for some sort of clothes' line, and all pins had to be given up, for the women were all "on deck" excepting Mrs. Barney Williams.

In one week we were at Acapulco. I secured the hen fruit as before and shared the egg cream for the coffee at the captain's table with him and

Col. Fremont's party and the rest. It was very dangerous to go ashore there at that time, as the harbor was swarming with tiger sharks. Shortly before our arrival, a large lighter, heavily loaded with fresh bullock hides, had been sunk. The wreck speedily attracted these vicious tigers of the sea, which would come up close to the beach and snatch anything they could reach. They would even bite the oars of the boatmen, who were rowing to or from the shore.

The steamer having coaled and watered, in the evening she fired her parting gun as a salute and was soon underway on her home stretch to San Francisco.

(To be continued)

NOTES

76. Osgood Church Wheeler, one of twelve children, was born March 13, 1816, in Wayne County, N. Y. He studied for the ministry, and attracted considerable attention while occupying a pulpit in Jersey City, N. J. On February 28, 1849, he was one of four clergymen to reach San Francisco on the S. S. *California*. Here, in June of the same year, he organized the First Baptist Church, and in July this society erected a commodious building on Washington St., between Dupont and Stockton. In 1850, Wheeler visited Sacramento and Marysville, organizing churches, assisted by Rev. Preveaux of the Boston Missionary Society. Rev. Wheeler seems to have acquired considerable western versatility: he joined the staff of the Central Pacific R. R. in California, and is said to have improved the system of freight handling, whereby it became possible to trace goods which had failed of delivery. *Obituaries of Soc. of California Pioneers*, I, 117; Bancroft, *Hist. of California*, VII, 727-28.

77. According to the *Alta California* of 21 Sept. 1851, the fires of May and June of that year destroyed the old adobe custom-house, built at first for that purpose and used later as a guard-house and military office by the Americans — and, later still, as the American Custom-house. No mention of the sale of the lot could be found in *A History of California Newspapers*, reprinted from the Sacramento Daily Union of Dec. 25, 1858. Ed. by Douglas C. McMurtrie (N.Y.: Plandome Press, 1927).

78. "The office of the paper was one of the most complete establishments in the United States, containing, besides large assortments of book and job type, two or three steam presses. The cost of the brick building was not far from $30,000. Its editorial apartments were even luxurious in their fitting up." [The fire of June 22, 1851, reduced it to a heap of ruins.] "Before the rainy season set in, the office was again comfortably housed in the building erected for that purpose, now occupied as the Hall of Records, in Portsmouth Square." McMurtrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 68 ff.

79. John Jenkins was from Australia and reputed to have been an ex-convict. Immediate cause of the hanging was the theft of a safe, which, under the statutes of 1851, rendered a thief liable to the death penalty. Mary F. Williams, *History of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851* (Berkeley: Univ. Press, 1921), pp. 208 ff, and 250; Soulé, Gihon, and Nisbet, *Annals of San Francisco* (N.Y., 1855), pp. 571-3. As for the safe, Miss Williams comments that it was "successfully salvaged by a skilful use of oyster tongs."

80. The *Thomas H. Perkins* weighed 697 tons; the *Loo Choo*, 639 tons; and the *Susan Drew*, 701 tons. For purposes of comparison, Columbus' caravels, the *Pinta* and *Niña*, weighed respectively 50 tons and 40 tons; and the decked ship, the *Santa Maria*, 100 tons.

81. Milesians, i.e., the Irish (from *Miledh*, meaning "warrior," applied to the hero, Fion, by the Gaelic bards).

82. Helen Throop Purdy, this *Quarterly*, III (April 1924), 43-44, in describing the exercises (1924) held by the Daughters of the American Revolution in commemoration of the acquisition of California by the United States, said that the flagstaff then stood, as nearly as could be calculated, in the same spot as the one of Montgomery's day.

83. Andrew Kelsey was an overland immigrant of the Bartleson party in 1841. He went to Oregon in 1843 with his brothers, but returned the next year. Kelseyville was named after him. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 444-445, 698. The identity of Stone is uncertain. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 736.

84. For an account of this tragedy from the Indian viewpoint, *see* "The Stone and Kelsey 'Massacre' on the shores of Clear Lake in 1849," this *Quarterly*, XI (Sept. 1932), 266-273.

85. *See* Thirty-first Congress, 2nd Sess., 1850-51, Senate Docs., I, pp. 81-83.

86. Henry Delano Fitch, a native of Massachusetts, came to California as master (1826–29) of the *María Ester*, a Mexican brig, which made yearly trips between Lima or Mexican ports and the California coast. In 1829 he was baptised "Henry Delano," becoming "Enrique Domingo"; and the same year he married the daughter of Joaquin Carrillo of San Diego. By 1833 he had become a Mexican citizen. Some eight years later, Fitch was grantee of the Sotoyomi Rancho, the one mentioned by Sherman as Fitch's Rancho. Fitch died at San Diego in 1849. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 739-740; VI, 21.

87. These verses were supposed to have been written by a Scottish sailor, Alexander Selkirk (1676–1721), who has been considered the prototype for Robinson Crusoe. Defoe lived 1659–1731.

88. Matthew Harbin, son of James M. Harbin (after whom Harbin Springs in Lake County was named), was a member of the Stevens party of 1844. In September 1846, during the Mexican War, he was taken prisoner while defending Chino Rancho, about 25 miles east of Los Angeles. Later, he became a resident of Napa and Lake counties, and about 1875 is said to have gone to Mexico to engage in stockraising. Bancroft, *op. cti.*, III, 775; IV, 445; V, 313-314.

89. This valley was named (the spelling varies) after one of a large number of persons with the same surname living in early California and more or less related. Their occupations ranged from rancher, soldier, teacher, to alcalde and regidor; and some eight Mexican grants were distributed among them. The Chimiles Rancho (in what is now Napa County), granted to Jose Ignacio Berreyesa in 1846, subsequently became known by the name Sherman uses here. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 718; V, 669.

90. William Pope (also known as Julian P. Pope), was an American trapper from New Mexico, who became a naturalized Mexican citizen, and in 1841 obtained a grant of the Tocoallomi Rancho, now called Pope Valley. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 782.

91. The mountain takes its name from Isaac Howell, a native of New York. He came overland to California in 1846, settling with his family first in Napa County and later in San Luis Obispo. He was also known as Father Howell. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 789.

92. This list contains the same names as those given by Bancroft (*History of California*, V, 110, ft. note), with the following exceptions: Bancroft omits Henry Beeson and George W. Williams, but adds Fowler. The latter, while on an errand for the revolutionists with Thomas Cowie, was murdered near Santa Rosa, sometime between June 17–25, 1846 (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 160-161). According to Bancroft (*op. cit.*, II, 714; V, 462), Henry Beeson was one of the claimants for supplies furnished to Fremont. George W. Williams may have been a member of the Grigsby-Ide party (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 579, ft. note). Bancroft qualifies certain names on his list by saying "... and most of the following"; i.e., Kelly, Griffith, Porterfield, Scott, Stebbins, Wise,

Ferguson, Storm, McChristian, Vines, Fowler, Gibbs, Andrew Kelsey and Benjamin Kelsey. Compare also list given by George Tays, "Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo and Sonoma," this *Quarterly*, XVII (Sept. 1938), 240.

93. Pablo de la Guerra of Santa Barbara was chairman of the committee for the Senate and P. B. Cornwall of Sacramento for the Assembly. Vallejo, however, was head of the commission to report on the derivation and definition of the names of the several counties.

94. It was called "Sonoma Lodge" at first (for 28 days), but the name was changed to that used here by Sherman, one reason being given that "... Sonoma is the Indian name for the moon, and Masons are generally governed by the sun in its symbolism ..." Edwin A. Sherman, *Fifty Years of Masonry in California* (San Francisco: George Spaulding and Co., 1898), I, 130.

95. In addition to his heavy military and engineering duties, Derby, under the pen name of John Phoenix, wrote humorous sketches and burlesques which have been published in book form, *Phoenixiana* (N.Y.: Appleton and Co., 1903).

96. Readers will be reminded of Owen Wister's novel, *The Virginian*, which appeared some three decades ago.

97. This journal, said to be the oldest newspaper in southern Alameda County, was founded March 24, 1877. Since 1929, John J. Motzko has been the publisher.

98. As will appear later in the "Recollections," the young man's educational efforts were taken over by a lady whom Sherman found progressive in point of dress. *See* Note 99, below.

99. Bancroft (*op. cit.*, VII, 717, ft. note) says that the matter of schools was agitated in Stockton in May 1850, and mentions C. M. Blake as teaching in a building furnished by Weber, but failing. Another pedagogue of the same surname was mentioned by Fred L. Button, in speaking before the Society at its March 1925 meeting on the subject of Oakland as it appeared sixty years ago (this *Quarterly*, IV, 211). He related that a Mrs. Blake had a school for girls, which was said to have been the first of its kind in Alameda County. This was Mary K. Blake, the wife of Judge B. M. Blake, and her seminary was opened in 1858. *See* William W. Ferrier, *Ninety Years of Education in California, 1846–1936* (Berkeley: Sather Gate Book Store, 1937, p. 135). For earlier mention of Blake by Sherman, *see* this *Quarterly*, XXIII (Sept. 1944), pp. 262, 273-74, and 279.

The Society wishes to acknowledge with many thanks the kind interest taken by Mr. T. T. McCrosky, Information Officer of the United Nations Conference, Mr. Verne Scoggins, Secretary of Governor Warren, and Mr. T. R. Letts and Miss Sally Osborn of Mayor Lapham's office, in securing authenticated copies of the documents printed on pages one through four of the present issue of the Quarterly.

Owing to the delayed appearance of this issue, the editors are able to present the list of participating nations and states at the San Francisco Conference ~~in its final form.~~ as of May 17, 1945.

Location of the Donner Family Camp

By P. M. Weddell

IN THE SPRING of 1846, several hundred covered wagons were on the Oregon Road, carrying emigrants and their outfits to Oregon and California. In this long pilgrimage there were people of all walks of life: persons of large means, and those whose entire worldly possessions were in their equipment. Notable among the persons of means and prominence [1] were James Frazier Reed and George and Jacob Donner of Springfield, Illinois. They were well supplied with wagons, specially made for the journey, and with the necessary oxen, extra cattle, riding horses, and valuable goods.

The Oregon Road crossed the summit of the Rocky Mountains through the well-known South Pass. During the development of emigrant travel, it had become the custom for all parties to stop for a short time just west of this pass, usually on the Little Sandy River.[2] East of this resting place, in the spring of 1846, there appeared a man named Lansford W. Hastings, who urged the people bound for California to pursue a new road, *his* road, called the Hastings Cut-Off, which he represented as 300 miles shorter than the Fort Hall Road, the regular way to California.[3] The Fort Hall Road to California, which left the Oregon Trail west of Fort Hall, was established in 1844 by a famous old frontiersman and hunter named Caleb Greenwood. This old pioneer likewise met the emigrants at Little Sandy River. He opposed the Hastings Cut-Off. He warned the emigrants of the dangers of a new, untried road, and urged them to follow the Fort Hall Road where they could travel safely.[4]

Hastings was a young man, a lawyer and a good speaker. Greenwood was an old man with a white beard, past 80 years of age. He was dressed as a frontiersman, spoke the unrefined language of a frontier hunter, and consequently was less persuasive with these eastern people than Hastings. As a result, 87 persons, with their wagons, chose the new road. James Frazier Reed and the Donners joined this party.[5] The story of the emigrants who followed the Fort Hall Road, led by Greenwood, ends here, except to say that they reached California safely without delay. The new party elected George Donner captain, and it is thereafter known in history as the Donner Party.[6] The trials and delays, the disappointments, and the tragedy of this party are not dealt with in this article. Its purpose is to state the reasons and authority for the present marking of the Donner Family Camp, and to have them made of record in a responsible publication.

By late October, the Donner party had become alarmed by the sudden approach of winter and the falling of snow in the mountains, and were pushing forward as rapidly as possible. When they were about 30 miles from the summit of the Sierra Nevada, somewhere between Dog Valley and Prosser Creek, one of the Donner wagons broke down and had to be repaired.[7] This misfortune caused considerable delay for the Donner families and their helpers. The rest of the party, however, pushed on, reaching a point at the foot of the stretch of water now known as Donner Lake, where they camped for the winter of 1846–47.[8] The Donner families, now left behind, became a separate group that never overtook and rejoined the remainder of the original party. Although they pressed onward, they were forced to camp at the head of Alder Creek Valley. Snow was falling so rapidly that there was no time for the building of cabins. They camped in their tents. And during this ominous winter of 1846–47, there occurred in these two camps, with only seven miles between them,[9] the most tragic epic of early California history. The site at the foot of Donner Lake, containing the main portion of the party, is known in history as the "Donner Camp"; the other is designated here as the "Donner Family Camp."

The greatest snowfall in the known history of the Sierra Nevada took place in that winter of 1846-47. Trees, cut at the surface of the snow for wood at the Donner Camp, left stumps 22 feet high, indicating the depth of snow at the foot of Donner Lake. Those cut for the same purpose at the Donner Family Camp left stumps twelve feet high, showing the extent of snowfall at the head of Alder Creek Valley. These high stumps have been and are now valuable relics, fixing the place of each camp.

There are but two of the old, high stumps now standing, and they are in the Donner Family Camp.[10] When I began marking this camp and the emigrant trail 20 or more years ago, there were other high stumps in different places within the Donner Family Camp, but they have fallen from decay and disappeared. It is reasonable to assume that the trees, cut for wood, were near the tents occupied by the two Donner families, because people suffering and weakened for want of food would scarcely go a long way from camp for fuel, when other trees were close at hand. It seems, therefore, that these stumps alone suffice as evidence to fix the location. But since the purpose of this article, as stated above, is to give all possible proof as to the correctness of this location, and the reasons for keeping the site marked as such, further evidence is submitted, namely, documentary, in the very able diary of John W. Markle.

Markle led a party of emigrants to California in 1849, three years after the fateful winter of the Donner Party. He left the Donner trail at Prosser Creek, and traveled along the course now taken by the highway between Prosser Creek and the town of Truckee. From the high ground on this road, the site of the Donner Family Camp can be seen in the distance. Markle refers to this view of the camp in his journal, and estimates the distance quite accurately. He rode to the camp and found "fragments" and "human bones" on the ground. These notes are especially important since the only part of the area at the head of Alder Creek Valley, that can be seen from this point on the road, is the ground of the Donner Family Camp. Taken together, the notes in Markle's journal and the presence of the stumps seem to leave no doubt as to the correctness of the camp's location.

At noon on the 29th of July 1921, I met Mr. C. F. McGlashan, author of *The History of the Donner Party*, at his summer cottage near the head of Donner Lake. We had a very interesting conversation touching matters of early pioneer history in California. Mr. McGlashan stated that in 1879, just after his book had been written, Nicholas Clarke, who had been in the Donner Family Camp for three weeks in the winter of 1846–47, made a visit to the scene of the tragedy and had led a party on horseback, composed of Mr. McGlashan and other prominent people of Truckee, over the trail to the head of Alder Creek Valley, where he located the Donner Family Camp. This location was explained to me with particular care and accuracy in the conversation I had with Mr. McGlashan at his summer cottage. Not long afterwards I identified the site as he had described it, and marked it with sign boards. I have kept this camp continuously marked since that time.

A few years later, I had the pleasure of driving Mr. McGlashan in my car from Truckee to the head of Alder Creek Valley, or as near there as a car could be taken. This was on Friday, July 15, 1927. We walked a short distance to the Donner Family Camp. Referring, in a passing way, to the large forked pine nearby, he pointed out the tall stumps as the only relics that have been found, and stated that that was the place where the Donner Family Camp had stood. I had already marked the place as the site of the camp a few years before.

While we were looking about for signs that might indicate the location of a Donner tent, he pointed out where the trail came down the hill and entered the camp. He did this very carefully and stated that the trail could be seen plainly many years before, when he came to the place with Nicholas Clarke and the group from Truckee. We walked up the hill some distance, but found no definite traces of the old road. Logging operations, the grazing of cattle and sheep, and the growth of native vegetation had blotted out all the old traces that he had seen years ago. He urged me to mark the trail on the hillside as he had indicated, and to continue it to Prosser Creek. This I have done, exactly as he said, and have continued the marking to Prosser Creek. Quite some time previously, I had marked the trail from this point to the foot of Donner Lake and to the summit of the Sierra.

Two years later, in August 1929, I drove from Truckee to Hobart Mills where I met Mr. George D. Oliver, general manager of the Hobart Company. Since the lumber operations of the Hobart Company were in the region of Alder Creek Valley, I asked Mr. Oliver if he had any data as to the location of the Donner Family Camp. He referred at once to an old pioneer and timber cruiser,[11] of whom he spoke with much respect and personal regard. I will quote from my diary:

"*Saturday, August 3, 1929. Mr. Oliver said he had been told by a famous pioneer where the site of the Donner Family Camp is, that the name of this old gentleman was W. B. Tiffony who died twenty-five years ago.*"

At Mr. Oliver's suggestion, we rode that day on horseback to the site of the Donner Family Camp, and he pointed it out as we sat on our horses near the center of the location. It was the same place that McGlashan had described to me in our interview in 1921; and had later pointed out to me when we visited it in 1927.

Mr. Oliver stated further that Tiffony had called his attention to the course of the emigrant trail from here toward Donner Lake. He then explained that 30 years ago, on the day he took charge of the Hobart Company, he and Tiffony had sat in their saddles at this point and that Tiffony had told him that that was the place where the Donner Family Camp had been.

The foregoing statements are the reasons and authorities for the location of this camp and its marking.

NOTES

1. Eliza P. Donner Houghton, *Expedition of the Donner Party* (Chicago: McClure and Co., 1911), pp. 2, 12; C. F. McGlashan, *History of the Donner Party* (Truckee, Calif.: Crowley and McGlashan, 1879), p. 17; G. R. Stewart, *Ordeal by Hunger* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1936), p. 14.

2. McGlashan, *op. cit.*, p. 29; Houghton, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

3. McGlashan, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Houghton, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 32; Stewart, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 26, 27.

4. Charles Kelley, *Old Greenwood* (Salt Lake City: Western Printing Co., 1936), pp. 89-102. Kelley states on p. 98 that Old Greenwood went to the Big Sandy River to meet the emigrants in the spring of 1846. This is not a discrepancy as he appeared at Little Sandy River also, and the two places are near. *See also* Stewart, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 8.

5. McGlashan, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Houghton, *op. cit.*, foot of p. 31, and p. 32.

6. McGlashan, *op. cit.*, p. 29; Houghton, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

7. Houghton, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

8. McGlashan, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 57.

9. *Ibid.*, foot of p. 62.

10. Stewart, *op. cit.*, Notes and References, p. 314; George W. Hinkle and Bliss McGlashan Hinkle, *History of the Donner Party* (Stanford University Press, 1940), Foreword, p. xiv; P. M. Weddell, "Marking of Donner Trail" (Scrapbook of Newspaper Clippings and Photographs, in collection of California Historical Society), pp. 3, 4, 15.

11. A timber estimator, in the language of forestry.

Book Review

The Early Cartography of the Pacific, *by* Lawrence C. Wroth, *in* The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, Volume Thirty-Eight, Number Two, 1944, 268 pp., $3.00.

In the spring of 1943, the John Carter Brown Library put on an exhibition entitled "The Pacific Battleground: a selection of maps illustrating the geography of the Pacific and Indian oceans, from Alexander the Great to Captain Cook." As the library is devoted to the collection and preservation of Americana, it is not burdened with an undue supply of maps of the Pacific except those found in books which also deal in some respects with America. The library was therefore obliged to complete its exhibit with a few printed facsimiles and photostats of maps in other libraries. Judging from the list appended to this article, there were about one hundred exhibits, comprising a well-chosen selection of those cartographical documents which deal with the western Pacific. The article in question is devoted to a description of those maps and is divided into ten sections of text. Following this is a list of the works most frequently cited, a list of maps, and twenty-two reproductions of some of the most important ones. Many of these maps have had to be reduced very considerably but most of them are still quite readable.

The writer begins with a general Introduction followed by a section on the Ptolemaic maps, the ecclesiastical maps in the Middle Ages, and the Portolan charts. Needless to say, the Portolan charts are the only maps of the period which have any approach to accuracy. They were, as far as they could be made, real maps, while the others were largely figments of the imagination. The second section comprises the period of the great discoveries, devoted very largely to the Waldseemüller maps, the outstanding ones of the age. The third section is entitled: The hypothetical Pacific; and the fourth: The Pacific becomes a reality. Unfortunately, after Nuñez de Balboa's discovery of the South Sea, the Pacific, as it is now called, still continued to exist in a hypothetical condition. This continued until the discoveries of the Portuguese, beyond the Straits of Malacca; in other words, the Pacific was then given bounds, which comprises the fifth section. The sixth section relates to another idle dream: The False Continent. In the seventh section we get back to solid ground: New Guinea and the Solomons, no doubt the inspiration for the original exhibition. The last three sections are devoted to the Dutch explorations and Australia, Japan and the Russian discoveries. A most unexplainable omission is any reference to discoveries on the coast of China, a far more important subject than that of the Terra Australis. Mr. Wroth, although admitting that the exhibition and the subsequent description of it renders the publication a timely one, yet says that the purpose is broader, being written in the conviction that a new world thrusts itself into the consciousness of Americans and Europeans and it is there to stay. In these days of combat in the Far East, that conviction is no doubt becoming more and more firmly fixed in our minds. The work of Mr. Wroth will help to fix it there in a more substantial manner and a more accurate one than most of us have hitherto regarded it.

The title is slightly misleading. No attention is paid in it to the eastern coast of the Pacific, and hardly any mention of the numerous island groups in the Pacific. There is no mention of the famous Volcano islands or Iwo Jima, so prominent at the present moment. Most of those islands were discovered at a very early date. It is not always easy to identify them with the names originally given to them and those they now bear. Another more important omission is a description of the map belonging to Mr. Boies Penrose, and reproduced some years ago in its original colors with a text entitled "A Link with Magellan." Mr. Wroth had undoubtedly seen the map but was probably led astray by Mr. Penrose's article in which he referred to it as a Spanish map. As a matter of fact it is a Portuguese map and undoubtedly the earliest one known to show the discoveries of Magellan in the Philippines, those on the south coast of China and the extremely numerous islands in the Malayan archipelago. The date of it is very uncertain and rendered more so by the apparent discoveries on the coast of China about which there seems to be no other source of information so early. Of course, China was not discovered then. The Chinese had lived there for several thousand years, but we speak of the Portuguese discovering China just as we speak of Columbus discovering America. The Portuguese discovery of India and the Moluccas "where the cloves grew" had a greater effect in revolutionizing the economic conditions in Europe than had the discovery of America, as Mr. Wroth well points out. Spices were more important in those days than the comparatively small amount of precious metals which were obtained in America before 1530. The dislocation of the trade to India through Egypt and Arabia destroyed the power of one nation and built up that of another. Venice went into a decline and Portugal emerged as the center of riches for a while.

The picture is painted on a broad canvas and it is not likely to be superseded for a long time. Mr. Wroth's style makes easy reading and even a somewhat recondite subject is made entertaining. I hope that the work will be issued separately in some form so that it can be made more available to the general public.

Henry R. Wagner

San Marino, March 8, 1945

How the California Historical Society Entertained Itself, 1886-92

DR. GEORGE MOOAR, in an address before the Berkeley Club, November 22, 1883, on the subject, "Family and Local History," suggested the organization of a California Historical Society. A committee was appointed but nothing was done until 1886, when Edward S. Holden, the new president of the University of California, and others became interested. Forthwith, a certificate of incorporation was issued under date of 6th of March 1886. In a retrospective mood, the Quarterly is printing, below, the titles of addresses given at the meetings during the first seven years of the Society's existence.

1886

Data of Mexican and United States History. By Prof. Bernard Moses.
Methods of Historical Research. By Mr. Fred B. Perkins.
The Employment of Indians in the Revolutionary War. By Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis.
The Identification of the Landfalls of the Early Spanish Navigators on the Coast of California, 1539–1603. By Prof. George Davidson.
The Local Units of History. By Prof. Martin Kellogg.

1887

Brief History of the "Pious Fund" of California. By Mr. John T. Doyle.
The First Phase of the Conquest of California. By Prof. William Carey Jones.
Early Overland Travelers and Explorers: Who was the First? By Albert J. LeBreton.
The Development and Early Realization of the College Idea in California. By Dr. S. H. Willey.
A Chapter in the Early Governmental History of San Francisco. By Prof. Bernard Moses.
Contemporary History: A Revision of Retrospects. By Mr. F. B. Perkins.
A Sketch of the Early History of Santa Clara College. By Rev. A. Varsi.
On the Establishment of the Boundaries of the Pueblo of San Francisco. By Dr. E. R. Taylor.

1888

Introductory Chapter to Papers on William Walker, the Filibuster. By Mr. Theodore H. Hittell.
Prehistoric California. By Dr. Lorenzo G. Yates.
Early Trapping Parties in California. By Hon. J. J. Warner.
Governor Chamberlain's Administration in South Carolina. By Prof. William Carey Jones.
The South Revisited. By Prof. Joseph LeConte.

1889

American Relations with Samoa. By Mr. S. E. Moffett.
Identification of the Anchorage of Sir Francis Drake on the Coast of California. By Prof. George Davidson.

1890

Some Traces of the Early History of Astronomy. By Prof. W. T. Welcker.
Recollections of Early Theatricals in San Francisco.
By Mr. John Quincy Adams.
The Sioux Campaign of 1876. By Capt. Charles A. Woodruff.
Hawaiian Volcanoes. By Dr. George L. Fitch (scheduled, but no record of meeting).
An Argonaut's Reminiscences of a Voyage to the Pacific Coast in 1849.
By Mr. James E. Gordon.
Early Days in San Rafael. By Judge F. W. Van Reynegom. [The meeting (Nov. 9, 1890) was interrupted by a noisy political gathering outside.]
Early History of the Pueblo de San Jose. By Hon. John M. Burnett.
The Two Journies of Jedediah S. Smith to California.
By Hon. Robert A. Thompson.

1891

A Voyage from Boston, Through the Straits of Magellan, to San Francisco, in 1849. By Edward English Cheever.
Discovery of Humboldt Bay. By Dr. George Davidson.
The Life of George Bancroft. By Theodore H. Hittell.
Letters of James King of William, to his family in the East, 1848–1851.
[Read by his son, Mr. Charles James King.]
Journal of a U. S. Soldier to California in 1846–47 [Judge Walter Murray of San Luis Obispo, in Stevenson's Regiment].
Read by Prof. William Carey Jones.

1892

Mission of San Jose. By Mr. A. W. Bishop.
Early California Schools. By Mr. Charles H. Shinn.
Walt Whitman. By Mr. John Vance Cheney.

In 1893 the Society as an organization lapsed until March 16, 1922. In the following May, Mr. Henry R. Wagner addressed a luncheon meeting at the Palace Hotel on the subject, "The Discovery of California." A general discussion then took place, after which " . . . unanimous sentiment prevailed that the Society should begin, as early as possible, the publication of a serial, to be known as the *California Historical Society Quarterly*." (See this *Quarterly*, I (July 1922), pp. 9-22.)

Recent Californiana

A Check List of Publications Relating to California

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

Atherton, Mrs. Gertrude

Golden Gate Country. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1944. 256 pp., map. $3.00.

Barnes, Rev. C. Rankin

A History of St. Paul's Church, San Diego. [San Diego] Published by the Parish, 1944. 46 pp., illus.

Bowerman, Mary F.

The Flowering Plants and Ferns of Mount Diablo, California. Berkeley: The Gillick Press, 1944. xi + 290 pp. $3.75.

Brackett, Frank P.

Granite and Sagebrush: Reminiscences of the First Fifty Years of Pomona College. Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1944. xvi + 251 pp., illus., port. $3.75.

Fisher, Anne B.

The Salinas: Upside-down River. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1944. xviii + 316 pp., illus. $2.50.

Hall, Carroll D.

Heraldry of New Helvetia, with Thirty-two Cattle Brands and Ear Marks Reproduced from the Original Certificates Issued at Sutter's Fort, 1845 to 1848. Foreword and Biographical Sketches by Carroll D. Hall. San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1945. 91 pp., illus.

ARTICALS IN PERIODICALS

The Beaver

Outfit 275 (December 1944) contains "California Rendezvous," by Alice Bay Maloney.

California Journal of Mines and Geology

Vol. XL, No. 3 (July 1944) contains "Mines and Quarries of the Indians of California," by Robert F. Heizer and Adan E. Treganza.

> "The background for the discovery, use and general appreciation of minerals in this State is closely tied up with the culture of the California Indians. More than thirty mineral products and 140 aboriginal mines and quarry sites were known and used by California tribes. To present-day mineral collectors and persons interested in the history of mining in this State, *Mines and Quarries of the Indians of California* is a record of more than passing value."

Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church

Vol. XIII, No. 4 (December 1944) contains "Saint Paul's Church, San Diego, California, 1869–1944," by Rev. C. Rankin Barnes.

Missouri Historical Review

Vol. XXXIX, No. 1 (October 1944) contains "Women and Children on the Oregon-California Trail in the Gold-Rush Years," by Georgia Willis Read.

Pacific Historical Review

Vol. XIII, No. 4 (December 1944) contains "James Warren and the Beginnings of Agricultural Institutions in California," by Walton E. Bean.

Sierra Club Bulletin

Vol. XXIX, No. 5 (October 1944) contains: "The Photography of Joseph N. Le Conte," by Ansel Adams; "The Creation of Yosemite National Park, Letters of John Muir to Robert Underwood Johnson."

Society of California Pioneers Publication

For 1944 contains "The Voyage of the Old Ship Humboldt," by James K. Gordon.

News of the Society

December 1, 1944 to February 28, 1945

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From REV. C. RANKIN BARNES – Barnes, Rev. C. Rankin, *A History of St. Paul's Church, San Diego*. San Diego: Published by the Parish, 1944.

From MRS. JAMES R. BREHM – Green, Adam Treadwell, *Seventy Years in California*. Privately printed, 1923.

From HON. ROBERT W. KENNY – *History and Proposed Settlement, Claims of California Indians*. Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1944.

From MRS. JOHN H. RUSSELL – Requa, Mark L., *Grubstake, a Story of Early Mining Days in Nevada, Time 1874*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933; *The Relation of Government to Industry*, New York: Macmillan Company, 1925; Russell, Amy Requa, *Alternate Beat*, Los Angeles, 1944; *This Native Heart, Poems, 1930–1938*, Los Angeles, 1938.

From SANTA FE SYSTEM LINES –Farrington, S. Kip, Jr., *Railroads at War*. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1944.

From SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA PIONEERS – *Publication of the Society of California Pioneers for the Year 1944*.

From THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA–Lawrence C. Wroth, *The Early Cartography of the Pacific*. The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2, 1944.

MANUSCRIPTS

From MR. CHARLES H. BATCHELDER – Bachelder, Dr. Amos, Journal to California in 1849 (typewritten copy); Letter from Sole G. Smith to Bro. Myron, dated Sutter Creek, Aug. 1st, '57.

From Mr. MALCOLM DECKER – Letter from John W. Geary to Hon. B. B. French, March 30th, 1865.

From MR. D. Q. TROY – Letter from J. A. Sutter to Henry Hentsch, San Francisco, dated Hock Farm, Sept. 30th, 1858 (photostat).

From MR. VINCENT WHITNEY – San Francisco Cavalry Troop, Articles of Organization; Contracts of Enlistment, 1915-1916.

PICTURES

From MRS. P. R. BUCHANAN – Album of San Francisco, Cal. 42 photo views. Published by the Bancroft Co., San Francisco, 1889.

From MRS. RALPH DAVISON MILLER – Six photographs of paintings by Ralph Davison Miller.

From MR. W. N. PETERS – Photograph of the Class of '84, Hastings College of the Law (framed).

MAGAZINES

From REV. C. RANKIN BARNES – Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Vol. XIII, No. 4, December 1944.

From MRS. ALICE B. MALONEY – The Beaver, a Magazine of the North (published by the Hudson's Bay Co.), Outfit 275, December 1944.

From MR. D. Q. TROY – California Highways and Public Works, September-October; November-December 1944. 2 issues.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

The year 1944 ended with the largest membership in the history of the California Historical Society. During the year we enrolled 808 members of which 17 are patron, 49 are sustaining, and 2 are honorary; and in the same period, 138 new names were added to our roster.

Our finances for the year ended in better condition than they have ever been. We reached the year's end in the black and started 1945 with a balance of $898.52 in the treasury.

During the year, thanks to Dr. Leonard, our duplicate books were sold to the membership. With the proceeds received, a library fund for the purchase of new books and manuscripts was established. Our library fund totals $1,260.02. Our publishing fund has a balance of $4,306.81. Thus it can be seen that financially the Society is in good condition.

Aside from the Quarterly, the Society reprinted during 1944 in a single pamphlet Gilbert Chinard's essay, "When the French Came to California," and a translation by Desiré Fricot of M. Trény's "La Californie Dévoilée, ou Vérites Irrécusables Appuyées sur de Nombreux Témoinages sur Cette Partie du Globe." Both the first and second editions of the latter booklet were published in Paris in 1850, in the interest of *La Californienne*, a company organized in that city for the exploitation of the gold mines of California.

Arrangements were also made during the year just passed for the printing of John Work's journals, edited by Mrs. Alice B. Maloney, which, next to the Clyman diaries, will be one of the Society's most significant publications.

During the year the Society received several outstanding gifts. Particularly important is the San Francisco Town Journal, October 1847-May 1848, the gift of Thomas W. Streeter and the late Albert Bender. Another noteworthy acquisition is that of the J. Lamson original drawings and journals, recording scenes and events during his travels in the California mining districts and in Oregon from 1852 to 1862. In the collection are fifty-one sketches and drawings and three manuscript journals. The purchase was made possible by the contributions of Miss Edith N. Allyne, Miss Lucy H. Allyne, Mr. Anson S. Blake, Mrs. Mae Hélène Bacon Boggs, Mr. Spencer Brush, Mr. Allen L. Chickering, Mr. Ralph H. Cross, Sr., Mr. Sidney M. Ehrman, Mr. A. I. Esberg, Mr. Stuart N. Greenberg, Mrs. Joseph D. Grant, Mr. Lowell E. Hardy, Mr. James Jenkins, George D. Lyman, M.D., Miss Frances M. Molera, and Miss Elsa Schilling. Although David Magee could have sold the collection to a New York dealer to better advantage, he gave the Society a special opportunity to acquire it. The Society's librarian, Mrs. Jean van Nostrand, engineered the collection of funds for the purchase of the drawings and manuscript. To her is likewise due the credit for bringing the matter to the Society's attention.

Two albums have also increased our historical wealth. One, the gift of the Misses Alice and Edith Hager, is filled with photographs of a vanished social era in San Francisco. The other album, presented to the Society by Mr. Lowell Hardy, contains, among other valuable papers, numerous unique letter sheets.

During the past year we held two exhibitions which aroused considerable interest. One celebrated John Bidwell, a pioneer of 1841; and the other, Alfred Robinson, who arrived in California in 1829 during the Mexican regime.

The year was marked by important changes in the staff of the Society. In June, Mrs. van Nostrand resigned her position as librarian. Mrs. van Nostrand's resignation represents a great loss to the Society as she combined many offices in her librarianship. She kept abreast of the membership, and on that account was a valued intermediary between staff and members. Many gifts to the Society were due entirely to her efforts. When she resigned, most of the books in the varied collections of the Society were listed and catalogued. Miss Alice J. Haines, who comes to the Society after a wide experience in the State Library and elsewhere, takes her place. Miss Eleanor Rossi has been elected corresponding secretary.

In November Miss Dorothy Huggins resigned. She had been with the Society since its re-establishment and had helped to bring the organization to its present high standards. Miss Huggins' work included publishing the California Historical Society Quarterly, of which she had been the very capable assistant editor from its first appearance in July 1922. Largely through her efforts its pages are known and respected in historical circles from coast to coast.

Miss Gladys Wickson was elected in November to be assistant editor of the Quarterly. Miss Wickson is a graduate of the University of California and has a Master's Degree both from California and Radcliffe. She has had much experience as an editor, having served ten years in that capacity in the publication department of the Harvard College Observatory at Cambridge, Mass., and previously as one of the assistant editors on the staff of Ginn and Company in Boston.

Thus another year ends in the annals of the California Historical Society.

George D. Lyman

March 31, 1944

Owing to an excess of work in connection with his business, as well as his interest in the campaign for the preservation of the redwoods, Mr. Aubrey Drury, the Secretary of the Society, has been obliged to postpone his Annual Report until the June number of the Quarterly.

As has been customary for several years past, the books of the Society have been audited by Messrs. Farquhar and Heimbucher. Their complete report for the year 1944 is on file, but a summary of the receipts and disbursements of the General Fund, Publication Fund, and Library Fund is printed below:

GENERAL FUND RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

For the Year Ended December 31, 1944

RECEIPTS		
Dues:		
Active Members	$ 7,017.50	
Patron Members	1,900.00	
Sustaining Members	1,250.00	$10,167.50
Contributions:		
General Purposes	55.00	
Special Purposes	1,161.78	1,216.78
Sales:		
Quarterlies		607.00
Miscellaneous Revenue		.50
Total Receipts		$11,991.78
EXPENDITURE		
Operating Expenses:		
Salaries	$ 4,986.66	
Rent	1,800.00	
Telephone	98.50	
Postage and Express	146.79	
Office Expenses	152.85	
Printing	22.04	
Insurance	17.01	
Library Expenses	42.86	
Miscellaneous	117.15	$ 7,383.86
Membership and Publicity Committee		201.05
Luncheon Expenses		149.71
Quarterly Publication Costs		3,233.16
Exhibit Expenses		33.14
Total Regular Expenses		$11,000.92
Special Expenses:		
Equipment	97.48	
Professional Services	35.00	
Purchases from Special Contributions	1,028.31	1,160.79
Total Expenditures		$12,161.71
EXCESS OF RECEIPTS OVER EXPENDITURE		† *169.93*
TRANSFER TO LIBRARY FUND —		
Proceeds from sale of duplicate books in prior year		200.00
FUND BALANCE AT BEGINNING OF YEAR		746.84
FUND BALANCE AT END OF YEAR		$ 376.91

† Figures in italics indicate negative amount.

PUBLICATION FUND RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

For the Year Ended December 31, 1944

Sales of Publications		$ 1,139.00
Cost of Sales:		
Inventory at Beginning of Year	$ 2,695.65	
Additions to Inventory	278.97	
	2,974.62	
Inventory at End of Year	2,357.75	616.87
Gross Profit from Sales		522.13
Selling Expense		51.65
		470.48
Interest on Savings Account		20.49
Net Gain to Fund		490.97
Fund Balance at Beginning of Year		3,815.84
Fund Balance at End of Year		$ 4,306.81

LIBRARY FUND RECEIPTS

For the Year Ended December 31, 1944

Transfer from General Fund —	
Proceeds from sale of duplicate books in prior year	$ 200.00
Sales of duplicate books	1,057.43
Interest on Savings Account	2.59
Fund Balance at End of Year	$ 1,260.02

BALANCE SHEET

As at December 31, 1944

ASSETS

Cash — Wells Fargo and Union Trust Company		
Commercial Account	$ 898.52	
Publication Savings Account	1,935.65	
Library Savings Account	1,260.02	
Office Revolving Fund	20.00	$ 4,114.19
Accounts Receivable:		
Publication Fund	59.99	59.99
Inventory of Publications		2,357.75
Total Assets *		$ 6,531.93

LIABILITIES

State Sales Tax Payable	50.47	
Withholding Tax Payable	149.72	
Prepaid Dues	388.00	$ 588.19

FUNDS

General Fund	376.91	
Publication Fund	4,306.81	
Library Fund	1,260.02	5,943.74
Total Liabilities and Funds		$ 6,531.93

* Library, Collections, Furniture and Equipment are not valued on the books.

NEW MEMBERS

Active

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Adolph Beck	Stockton	Membership Committee
Raymond B. F. Black	San Francisco	Mrs. Jerome A. Hart
Mrs. E. E. Brownell	San Francisco	Henry F. Dutton
Mrs. May O'Shaughnessy Camarillo	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M. D.
Mrs. B. L. Canaga	Berkeley	Membership Committee
Mrs. William Chickering	Piedmont	Mrs. Jerome A. Hart
Mrs. Evelyn Clement	Roseville	Membership Committee
Lt. Downey C. Clinch	Grass Valley	Mrs. Gerald Kennedy
Eric A. Falconer	Berkeley	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M. D.
Edwin J. Foster	Berkeley	Membership Committee
Royal F. Graff	Vallejo	George L. Gary
Hugh Harrell	San Bruno	John Howell
Mrs. Reginald C. Jenkins	San Francisco	Edgar M. Kahn
Mrs. W. F. Kelly	Santa Barbara	Anson S. Blake
Carlos La Moine	Stockton	Membership Committee
J. Stuart Macpherson	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M. D.
Mrs. George C. Pardee	Oakland	William Cavalier
Arthur P. Snow	Oakland	Allen L. Chickering
Beach C. Soule	Piedmont	William Cavalier
Keith Spalding	Pasadena	James R. Brehm
Harry N. Stetson	San Francisco	Mrs. Laura Bride Powers
Miss G. C. Wickson	Berkeley	Miss Edith Coulter
Richard W. Young	Berkeley	R. L. Underhill

CHANGES IN MEMBERSHIP STATUS

From Sustaining to Patron

William Cavalier
Willard O. Wayman

From Active to Sustaining

Aubrey Drury
Edward A. Dickson
E. W. Ehmann
Morton R. Gibbons, M. D.
Atholl McBean
Miss Helen Shafter

In Memoriam

Helen Throop Pratt

1856–1945

Mrs. Pratt, a loyal fellow member of this Society, passed away at her home in Berkeley on January 19, 1945.

She was born in 1856 in Palmyra, New York, and was educated at Palmyra College, one of the earliest colleges for women in America. She was a Mayflower descendant, a member of the Colonial Dames of America and of the Stevenson Fellowship, and was very active in the California Historical Society, serving as a member of the Committee on Publication from 1925 until her death, and as one of the Directors from 1926 through 1934.

Mrs. Pratt lived happily and actively. She was the author of *San Francisco,* *As It Was, As It Is, and How To See It* – one of the most useful and informative books on San Francisco – and of a number of articles for the Quarterly of the Society: among them, "Portsmouth Square," which was read before a luncheon meeting on March 25, 1924; and "Crescent City on the Tuolumne."

She was particularly interested in Robert Louis Stevenson, and in her large circle of friends were included members of Stevenson's family, also Mrs. Virgil Williams who, Stevenson said, was his best friend in California. From Mrs. Williams she received a large number of letters of both R.L.S. and his wife. With the use of this material she had planned to write an account of Stevenson's life, particularly in California. That work, however, was never completed. Her memory was very remarkable and she had many interesting incidents to relate of notable Eastern friends and acquaintances. Henry Ward Beecher was well known to her, as well as his brother whom she considered the more able. Her reading covered a wide range, historical subjects especially, and she took a keen interest in later years in the history of California, her adopted State.

JOHN HOWELL

EDITH TAYLOR POPE

1867–1944

In San Francisco on December 26, 1944, there passed away one of California's outstanding citizens and a very gracious lady. Her father, William Henry Taylor, a Philadelphian, reached California in the spring of 1850 and became Vice-President of the California Steam Navigation Company, which operated steamers on the Sacramento River. Her mother, Mary Ellen Taylor, also from Philadelphia, came in 1866. The same year they were married in San Francisco, and it was here that their daughter Edith was born. When a young girl, she went East to Miss Porter's School in Farmington, Connecticut.

Mrs. Pope had long been a Director of the Henry Investment Company, and at the time of the death of her husband succeeded him as a Director of Pope and Talbot, Inc. She was also on the Woman's Board of St. Luke's Hospital. For many years she had been a member of the California Historical Society which in 1944 elected her a Director.

During the Panama Pacific Exposition in 1915 and the San Francisco World's Fair of 1939, Mrs. Pope took a very active part. She was interested in a great many charities, but many of her philanthropic acts were not known to the public. From her love of music she became one of the supporters of the San Francisco Symphony and the San Francisco Opera.

Her husband, George A. Pope, died in 1942. Mrs. Pope is survived by three children: Emily Pope Trumbull, George A. Pope, Jr., and Wm. Kenneth Pope; five grandchildren: Emily Pope Taylor, George A. Pope III, Peter Talbot Pope, Guy Brownell Pope, and Edith Taylor Pope II.

She had two brothers and a sister: Wm. Taylor, deceased, Augustus Taylor, and Caroline Taylor Newhall.

Emily Pope Trumbull

Evelyn A. Murphy

Miss Evelyn Murphy, a member of one of Central California's most prominent families, died on December 11, 1944, at her home in Sunnyvale, California. She was the granddaughter of Martin Murphy II, who left Ireland in 1820 for Quebec, and some years later moved to Missouri. From Missouri he continued his west-trending career to California, which he reached with his father, Martin Murphy I, in 1844. The younger Murphy was successful in the purchase and sale of land, settling finally in Santa Clara County. Here he became a leader in agriculture as well as in matters affecting the interests of education and religion. No less devoted to these causes was his son, Miss Murphy's father, Bernard D. Murphy, many-termed mayor of San Jose.

In her own life, Miss Murphy carried on the family tradition of taking part in the affairs of her community. At the time of her death she was President of the Newman Club of San Jose, and much beloved by the students of the San Jose State College. Miss Murphy had been a member of the California Historical Society since 1935. Mrs. Richard T. Carroll, whose obituary by Ernest A. Wiltsee appeared in the June 1934 Quarterly, was an aunt of Miss Murphy's and the mother of our present member, Mrs. W. R. Whittier of Sunnyvale, who joined the Society shortly after its reorganization.

Alfred Sutro

1869–1945

Alfred Sutro, long a member of the California Historical Society, died on March 9, 1945.

Mr. Sutro was born in Victoria, B. C., October 15, 1869. He moved to San Francisco with his family in 1875 and resided there until the time of his death. In 1891 he graduated from Harvard University with the degree of A. B., and then attended Hastings College of the Law at San Francisco, from which he graduated in 1894 with the degree of L. L. B. This same year he was admitted to practice. While attending Hastings, Mr. Sutro had been a clerk in the office of Pillsbury, Blanding and Hayne, and remained with that office after his admission to the Bar. In 1904 he became a partner in the firm of Pillsbury, Madison and Sutro, and at the time of his death was the senior partner of this firm.

Mr. Sutro was an able lawyer and handled many large and important cases. He was also General Counsel of the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company of which organization he had been a Director since 1940. He acted in the latter capacity for several other companies, including the Pacific Lighting Corporation.

As a great book lover and collector, one of his main interests was the Book Club of California. Under his leadership while President, this club has become very widely known and an intellectual force, having drawn members from all parts of the country.

In 1902 he married Rose Newmark of Los Angeles. Of the three children, two daughters – Adelaide (Mrs. Robert P. Bullard) and Margot – are deceased. The son, John A. Sutro, is associated with the firm of Pillsbury, Madison and Sutro, but is now in military service.

Mr. Sutro was a brother of Oscar Sutro, also a member of the California Historical Society, who died in June 1935. A sister, Mrs. M. F. Loewenstein, is living in New York City, and a brother, Gustav Sutro, in Saratoga.

ALLEN L. CHICKERING

SPENCER C. BROWNE

1885–1945

Spencer Cochrane Browne, mining engineer and student of California history, who died in Oakland on February 11, 1945, belonged to one of that city's oldest families. His grandfather, J. Ross Browne, who was widely known as a writer of travel books, came to San Francisco in 1849 and served as official reporter of the California State Constitutional Convention the same year. A few years later he moved across the bay and built a house as one of a colony of San Franciscans who had settled in a beautiful rural neighborhood, not far from the heart of present-day Oakland. His grandson was engaged, at the time of his death, in writing a book about the life and period of J. Ross Browne based upon a mass of family correspondence as well as Browne's books, diaries, and magazine articles.

Born in Oakland, March 1, 1885, Spencer Browne was Gold Medalist of his class when he graduated from the University of California in 1906. He was a member of the Beta Theta Pi fraternity as well as of the honor societies Phi Beta Kappa and Sigma Xi. As a mining engineer he is best known for his pioneer work in the development of the sulphur industry, having, in 1910, done much of the preliminary research that led to the establishment of the Texas Gulf Sulphur Company by Seeley Mudd, Bernard Baruch, and their associates. He later invented the reverse-return sampling process, which played a large part in the success of the enterprise.

It was Spencer Browne's good fortune to see much of what might be called the later pioneering phase of American mining. He was in Alaska in 1906 and 1907 when Dawson and Fairbanks were still boom towns. During the same period he saw the flush days of Bullfrog, Tonopah, and Goldfield in Nevada. In 1916 he sailed for Chile and spent most of a year there inspecting the nitrate deposits. The First World War interrupted his work as an engineer, and he was in training in Plattsburg when it ended.

Although his profession necessitated a great deal of technical work, Spencer Browne's interests were almost as varied as those of his grandfather, J. Ross Browne. He had a great love and appreciation of the arts, especially music and painting, and a passion for travel which enabled him to see the masterpieces of all countries when, with his wife, he took a trip around the world in 1921 and 1922. After two or three years in New York, he returned to California and settled in Piedmont. His later years were devoted largely to historical research, which became his most absorbing occupation.

He is survived by his widow, Lina Fergusson Browne; a daughter, Clara Li Browne; a son, Ensign Cochrane Browne, in Naval Aviation; and two sisters, Mrs. Sidney M. van Wyck and Miss Florence E. Browne.

Harvey Fergusson

W. H. Kirkbride

1874–1944

W. H. Kirkbride, for 12 years chief engineer of the Southern Pacific Company until he retired last January, died December 20th at Dunsmuir. Although he was a native of Pueblo, Colorado, he had spent most of his life in California, having graduated from Stanford University with the class of 1895 (to which Herbert Hoover belonged) and later making San Francisco his permanent home. He began his engineering career as a United States deputy mineral surveyor, but soon identified himself with railroad construction, first on the pioneer Sierra Railway in California, then with the Shasta Mineral Belt Railway. In 1902 he joined the Southern Pacific. Since 1918 he had had charge of the expenditure of nearly one billion dollars for the maintenance of track and roadway structures and for additions and betterments. Mr. Kirkbride's duties as chief engineer included supervision over the railroad's Pacific Lines, covering nearly 9,000 miles in seven western States. He also took a prominent part in preliminary studies for the San Francisco-Oakland Bridge and the Central Valley water project. In 1936 he was honored by the American Society of Civil Engineers for the best paper submitted on a construction project – the Martinez-Benicia Bridge. That his abilities were likewise recognized in San Francisco is seen in his appointment by Mayor Lapham to membership on the City Board of Permit Appeals, on which he was serving at the time of his death.

Juan Roberto Camarillo

1917–1944

At San Francisco, the city of his birth, there passed away on December 30, 1944, Juan Roberto Camarillo, descendant of Don Gaspar de Portola and great-grandson of Fernando Tico. It was to the latter that Governor

Juan B. Alvarado had in 1837 conferred a grant of 17,792 acres in the Ojai Valley. On his mother's side, Juan Camarillo was a grandson of William M. O'Shaughnessy, a pioneer of the Santa Clara Valley and later well known in San Francisco as President of the Board of Public Works.

Like his father, the late Roberto B. Camarillo, and following his graduation from St. John's Military Academy and Bellarmine College, he studied law at the universities of Santa Clara and San Francisco, receiving his degree with the Class of 1938. When not attending school and college, his days were passed in Ventura County on the 10,000-acre Camarillos' Calleguas Rancho. A horseman of note, as befitted one of his name, he here carried on, near the City of Camarillo, named in honor of his great-grandfather, Juan, and surrounded by relations – the Ortegas, Peraltas, and De la Guerras – the open-hearted hospitality that has always been associated with the early pastural days of California. He was the author of many articles on California history.

"It matters not how long we live but how," recalls the life of Juan Camarillo, who was born December 4, 1917, and while young in years had indeed enjoyed a full life.

A. T. Leonard, Jr., *M.D.*

On the sixth of January of this year, William Henry Chickering, son of Allen L. Chickering, one of the directors of the California Historical Society, and Mrs. Alma Sherman Chickering, was killed by enemy fire. He was not a member of this Society, but his family's connection with its activities, and the prominence of his own services to the country, make it appropriate to recall here the heroism of that young life. Death came as he stood on the bridge of a warship in Lingayen Gulf. He was acting as war correspondent for both Time and Life magazines, and had been with General MacArthur since 1942 in New Guinea. William Chickering knew what it was to be in the thick of South Pacific jungle warfare – Gilbert Islands, Treasury Islands, Bougainville, Kwagalein, Leyte . . . From his manliness and ability in these theaters, he had won General MacArthur's friendship, and when he died the general spoke of his services as "superb." In spite of all the horrors of such warfare, however, young Chickering always took the time to notice and report the little, gentler things that were going on under the terrible surface. This skill in observation was noticeable in his book, *Within the Sound of These Waves*, published in 1941 when he was only twenty-four, and made it certain that much could be expected from such a pen. In 1938 he married Audrey Madden. Mrs. Chickering, their four-year old son, and a posthumous son survive him.

Marginalia

John Donald Hicks, at present Morrison Professor of History at the University of California, was born in Missouri. He is a graduate of Northwestern University at Evanston, Illinois, and in 1916 was granted the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Wisconsin.

During his brief fifty-odd years, Mr. Hicks has not only taught in North Carolina, Nebraska, Wisconsin, Harvard, Minnesota, Syracuse, West Virginia, Columbia, and California, but has written on such vital subjects to Americans as the Populist Revolt, The Federal Union, and The American Nation. Now, in addition to teaching and writing, he has undertaken the duties of Dean of the Graduate Division at the State University.

Walker D. Wyman, compiler of "California Emigrant Letters," which begin in this issue, received his Ph. D. degree from the University of Iowa in 1935, and is at present Professor of American History and Government at the State Teachers College, River Falls, Wisconsin. His contributions to the knowledge of freighting operations on the Santa Fe Trail (*vide* "The Military Phase of Santa Fe Freighting, 1846–65"), and at such freighter capitals as Kansas City and Atchison, have appeared within the last decade in the Kansas Historical Quarterly and the New Mexico Historical Review – which suggests, in line with Professor Hicks' article in this number of the Quarterly, that a freighter-capital study of western coastal points during World War II will be of great interest when the time comes. Recently off the press is Mr. Wyman's *Wild Horse of the West*, published by Caxton. Another work, though of importance more particularly to students of our sister "great valley" than of ours, is *A Topical Guide to the Mississippi Valley Historical Review 1914–32 and Proceedings 1907–24*, printed by that society in 1934, which Mr. Wyman prepared in collaboration with C. H. Norby.

Beginning more than two decades ago, P. M. Weddell, member of the California Bar and retired high-school teacher of San Jose, devoted several summers' arduous work to the marking of fifteen miles of the Emigrant Trail between the head of Alder Creek and the summit of the Sierra Nevada. The work involved replacing and repairing about 200 signs, stone markers, and blazes, and was done in rugged country on the eastern slope of the Sierra, at elevations ranging from 5900 to 8000 feet above sea level.

It is with regret that the Society announces the death of Joseph Huggins, D.D.S., of Dowingtown, Pa. He was the grandson of John Work, whose journal was published in several recent issues of the *Quarterly*.

The death on May 31, 1944, of Mrs. Lewis E. Stanton of San Francisco is also announced with much regret. Mrs. Stanton had become a member of the Society in 1929.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

After preliminary trips to California in 1849–51 as a scout and guide, Adolph Beck's great-grandfather, Patrick McDermott of Reading, Pa., moved his family to San Francisco in 1852. It was his claim that he was the first to haul a load of lumber up Telegraph Hill. Mr. Beck's grandmother, Agnes McDermott, married Adolph Keney, who was the engineer of the steamer *Helen Hensley*, operating between San Francisco and Stockton. Peter P. Beck, Mr. Beck's paternal grandfather, was a Dane. He refused to wave a German flag in honor of William I, Kaiser William's father, when Schleswig was taken from Denmark in 1864. Thereafter, being unable to procure work at his trade of shipbuilding, he emigrated to California, arriving in San Francisco in 1869. Some two years later his family was able to join him. It took thirteen days to cross the continent, as it was considered dangerous to run trains through the buffalo country except in daylight. Mr. Adolph Beck is president of the Morthrift Finance Company.

Mrs. B. E. Canaga, the wife of a navy officer but born and brought up in the army, has spent most of the thirty-seven years of her married life in California. Her husband is at present chairman of the Department of Naval Science and Tactics at the University of California, and two of their children have been graduated from the State University.

Mrs. Evelyn Atkinson Clement is a native of California. She attended the College of the Pacific and Stanford University, and holds a Ph.D. degree from the University of California. For fifteen years she was chief of the Division of Teacher Training in the California State Department of Education. More recently she has been Professor of Education at the San Francisco State College. Mrs. Clement retired in 1942 and has been engaged in studying the early history of Placer and Sacramento counties as the basis of feature stories for local newspapers.

Lt. Clinch's great-grandparents came to California in the Gold Rush and established their permanent residence in Grass Valley. His grandmother, who had lived there some eighty-seven years, made a series of notes on life in that part of the country, which Lt. Clinch was in process of editing when he was ordered overseas. The *Quarterly* sincerely hopes he will be able to resume this interesting work before very long. Lt. Clinch graduated from the University of California in 1938.

Edwin J. Foster, the son of a pioneer, who, to use Mr. Foster's own words, "whizzed across the plains from Missouri with an ox team at the rate of two miles an hour," was born on a farm in Solano County. He came to Berkeley several years ago, where five of his children have attended the University of California.

Mrs. W. F. Kelly, widow of the former director and general manager of the San Francisco, Oakland and San Jose Consolidated Ry. and the Oakland Traction Company (now the Key System), is the daughter of the late E. J. Wickson of the University of California and Ednah Harmon Wickson. Her maternal grandfather, S. S. Harmon, was a Presbyterian minister and teacher, who arrived in California with his family, *via* Cape Horn, in 1853 on the ship *Trade Wind.*

Mrs. George Cooper Pardee is the wife of the former governor of California (1903–07), whose civic and scholarly services to the community also included mayor of Oakland, regent of the State University, chairman of the Conservation Commission State of California, and chairman of the California Joint Federal-State Water Resources Commission.

The Quarterly hopes to give further notes on the new members in the next issue.

SOCIETY'S PUBLICATION REVIEWED: PUBLISHERS COMPLIMENTED

Among the discussions of new books in the *Bulletin* of the Institute of the History of Medicine, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Jan. 1945), appeared a review which reads as follows:

A Doctor Comes to California. The Diary of John S. Griffin, Assistant Surgeon with Kearny's Dragoons, 1846–47. With an Introduction and Notes by George Walcott Ames, Jr. and a Foreword by George D. Lyman, M. D. San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1943. [Special Publication Number 18, reprinted from the *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. XXI, No. 3 and 4, Vol. XXII, No. 1.] 97 pp., illustrated. $2.25.

When war with Mexico was declared in 1846, the General Staff of the U. S. Army launched three campaigns. Mexico was to be invaded from Texas by an army under General Zachary Taylor; a little later General Winfield Scott was to land troops at Vera Cruz and capture Mexico City; Colonel (later General) Stephen W. Kearny was to capture Santa Fé and then march west to California where he would be supported by naval and marine forces. All three campaigns were successfully concluded, as a result of which the territory now embracing the states of New Mexico, Arizona, and California was annexed to the United States.

Kearny's march from Santa Fé to California with his "Army of the West" (actually composed of little more than 100 men!) is one of the epics of the Southwest. The 1000 miles which lay ahead of him were uninhabited except by scattered tribes of Indians, who fortunately were not hostile at the time; the terrain was the most difficult imaginable for both man and beast, composed as it was of desert and rugged ranges without any roads whatsoever. Hitherto only Indians and white scouts like Kit Carson had used the route which followed the Gila River most of the way. To get through with 100 men and mules, supply wagons, and guns was no small undertaking. With Kit Carson as their guide, the expedition succeeded, but not without the most extreme hardships. Most of the mules died, water and food were scarce, supplies had to be abandoned, and finally when California was reached and their goal, San Diego, almost in sight, a battle with the enemy nearly resulted in the annihilation of the tiny army. Ultimate success came, however, when naval forces in San Diego came to the relief of the besieged group of exhausted men.

Two complete diaries of this expedition are preserved: William Hemsley Emory's *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance, from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California* . . . , 30th Cong., 1st Sess., S. Exec. Doc. 7 (1848), and that of Dr. John S. Griffin, a graduate in medicine of the University of Pennsylvania and the medical officer attached to the expedition. The latter is published in its entirety now for the first time. Dr. Griffin, who afterwards settled in Los Angeles and became one of its leading citizens, has provided us with one of the most important documents to the history of the "Army of the West" and early days in California, which H. H. Bancroft used extensively for his *History of California.*

In this instance, as in many others connected with the exploration and development of the West, we are indebted to a physician for the literary recording of events and a description of the land. This phenomenon is, of course, easily understandable since physicians were relatively well educated men, who would be more liable to keep diaries and be interested in describing unknown lands with an eye to their flora and fauna than the pioneer scouts and adventurers. Another diary of this same time, that of Henry Standage,[1] a soldier in the Mormon Battalion which followed Kearny's army to California by a more southern route, while interesting because of its narration of daily events, etc., does not contain as much descriptive material. The young army surgeon's diary is a combination log, geography, Baedeker, and medical case book, covering the period between September 26, 1846 and August 17, 1847 when California was safely in the hands of American forces. Of medical interest are his descriptions of wounds inflicted by the lances of the enemy, the diseases which prevailed in California (diarrhoes, dysenteries, and influenza), notes about their treatment, a case of rabies, and a post mortem.

Detailed maps from Emory's *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance* showing the route taken by the "Army of the West" have been happily included in this publication and are a great aid to the reader in orienting himself while following the daily events. The editor, Mr. George Walcott Ames, Jr. has supplemented the text with 140 useful notes identifying personalities mentioned, elaborating events, and providing additional references. We are very glad that the California Historical Society saw fit to make a special reprint of this diary first published in three parts in its *Quarterly*, and thereby made it available in an attractive form to a wider audience.

GENEVIEVE MILLER

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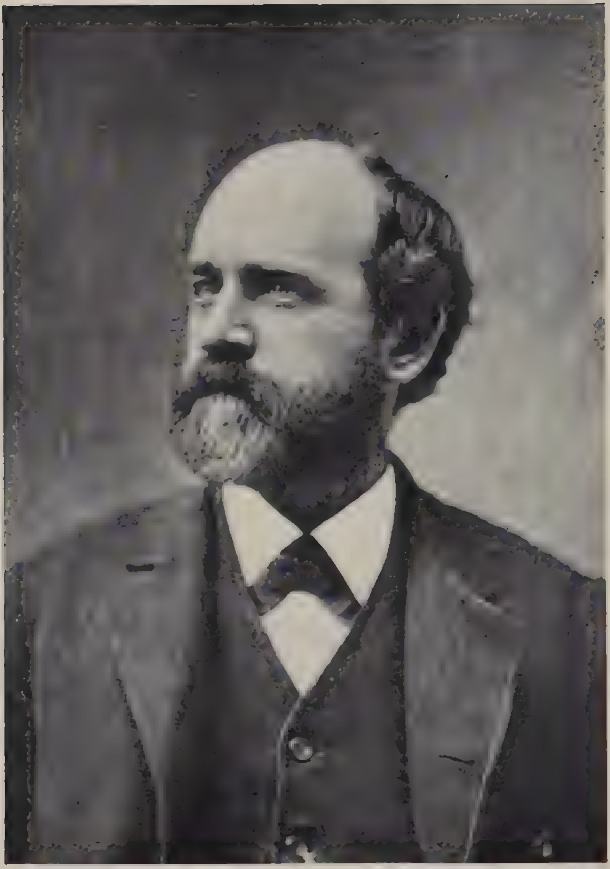
[1] Frank Alfred Golder (in collaboration with Thomas A. Bailey and J. Lyman Smith), *The March of the Mormon Battalion from Council Bluffs to California, Taken from the Journal of Henry Standage.* New York and London: The Century Co., 1928.



HENRY GEORGE
From material in the Bancroft Library

Henry George and the California Background of *Progress and Poverty*[*]

By Charles A. Barker

THE democratic theorist, with whose California life and thought this paper is concerned, is neither a well-remembered nor a forgotten man in the history of American thought. To a large and, I believe, a growing group of followers around the world, Henry George's light burns as bright as ever it did in the Eighteen-eighties and 'Nineties, when he was lecturing and campaigning in both hemispheres, and when *Progress and Poverty* was a best seller, translated into many foreign languages. To the devotees whose faith is focused on the single tax on the product of the land, George beckons as an adequate guide, if humanity would but raise its eyes out of our modern tragedy of war and the exploitation of man by man. Outside this group of appreciative followers, however, Henry George is a little-remembered man, and *Progress and Poverty* is a little-regarded book. The minds of most educated people, I am afraid, carry only an indistinct impression of the man and his work: an impression which reveals him more often as a crackpot than a man of reason and good will. There is a word "disremember," used in dialect by some Americans to cover what they have forgotten or confused. To me it is unjust and poignant that Henry George could have become a "disremembered" figure of the democratic tradition in this country.

Yet "disremembering" and following Henry George are not the only choices made about him. To the increasing group of Americans who take our intellectual history seriously, there is a third way of thinking about George. Turn the pages of Ralph H. Gabriel, the Yale author of the only systematic treatise we have on *The Course of American Democratic Thought*. There, Henry George gets one-third of a chapter (Emerson and Thoreau each get one-half); he is placed in the great Jeffersonian tradition of rationalist social thought; the single-tax is discussed indeed, in somewhat derogatory terms, such as "millenialism," "panacea," and "magic"; but the treatment of the man and his larger ideas is thoroughly appreciative and generous.[1] Charles and Mary Beard, in their more recent history of *The American Spirit*, likewise give generous space to George. Placing him in a context between Woodrow Wilson and Henry Adams, they have little to say about the single-tax, and much to say about Henry George's thoughtful and critical development of the idea of civilization.[2] And again, Merle Curti, in his Pulitzer Prize book, *The Growth of American Thought*, has words of large appreciation for, and of particular criticism of, the ideas of

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[*] First delivered as a lecture before the Stanford University School of Humanities, Symposium on American Studies, March 1, 1945.

Henry George.[3] The three works by Gabriel, the Beards, and Curti represent the leadership of the profession of history in recording and interpreting the inner, spiritual and intellectual development of our country.

As George's life is in large part a record both of affirmation and controversy, it should help the "visibility" of today's discussion to say at the outset that, although the cloud of disagreement has by no means risen from the man and the single-tax movement, the cloud-ceiling is much higher now than it was a half-century ago. The first of the three present ways of estimating Henry George which I mentioned a moment ago, namely, that of the follower and the believer in the single tax, is of course unalterably opposed to the second way, by which the man and his work are simply "disremembered." So also is the third way of estimating him, that of the scholar, opposed to the second. As between the first and third, a degree of sympathy would seem to be the natural thing – although one might suspect at the same time a certain degree of tension and suspicion as not unlikely between the devotees and the unattached students of a reform movement. But the road is easier along this frontier of thought. The deeper and more underlying premises of the Henry George movement are the premises of reason and good will. I, for one, can give grateful testimony to the friendliest treatment shown an outside investigator by members of the inner circle of today's Georgist movement. The new periodical, *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, gives indication of a sustained effort, from within the Georgist movement, to make a working connection between that school of democratic thought and the social sciences of the United States which are outside that school. There are indeed ample signs of reciprocal interest on both sides of the line between attitude number one, that of the devotee, and attitude number three, or the scholar's attitude, towards Henry George.

Within these several premises, the student of American thought may well find a good deal to stimulate him. Here is a leading American social thinker, economist, reformer, and internationalist. Here is an economic democrat who stood outside the socialist movement and the populist movement, and who feared and opposed the growth of a bureaucratic state. Here is a spokesman of the people who exercised rare gifts of logical and literary expression.

Here is the stamp of western – California – environment upon an international and a national figure. George was a contemporary of Leland Stanford. In many obvious ways he stood for the exact opposite of things for which the railroad builder and senator stood. And yet there was a piquant moment in 1881 when James McClatchy of the Sacramento *Bee* told Mrs. George that Stanford had read *Progress and Poverty* and had called himself "a disciple of Henry George." [4] A little later, I shall offer some weightier evidence than McClatchy's rumor that, two-thirds of a century ago, there were lines of thought which connected, as well as lines which separated, the economic democrats and the economic empire-builders of California. The regional civilization of this part of the country was at once creative, troubled, divided, and evocative of social thought and economic plan.

THE YOUNG HENRY GEORGE AS LITERARY AND ETHICAL THINKER

The author of *Progress and Poverty*, like most Californians of the first generation after the beginning of the American period, was an adopted rather than a native son. He arrived in San Francisco in 1858, a youngster not quite nineteen, and without much education. He was to stay on the Coast for twenty-two years, until the writing of *Progress and Poverty*, when he was forty, had enlarged and matured his ideas, and the first stages of recognition were preparing the way for the reform movement of the last two decades of his life. In 1880, the year after the publication of *Progress and Poverty*, George went to New York. Thereafter he returned to California only for a moment: he lectured in San Francisco in 1890 while on his way to Australia on a tour around the world. Few biographies are more plainly periodized than his: childhood, youth, and first set of character in his native Philadelphia, 1839–1857; young manhood, family responsibility, intellectual development, and authorship in California, 1858–1880; lecturing, political campaigning, and leadership in reform, with a base in New York, from 1880 to 1897. He died as dramatically as he ever lived, at the climax of his second campaign for the office of mayor of the great city. To the student interested in *Progress and Poverty*, in the making and the meaning of one of our country's most influential democratic works, the two decades of California life, observation, and authorship, open a beckoning area of study.

What equipment of mind and spirit did the young Henry George bring to California? What conditions and conflicts of this state's peculiar society of the 'Sixties and 'Seventies were seized upon by that mind, were observed, analyzed, generalized, and assimilated into the context of *Progress and Poverty?* The necessity of raising these questions is confirmed in the most casual reading of *Progress and Poverty*. The book is of course very largely done in terms of economic logic, criticism, and proposition. Long passages are fairly abstract in the language of nineteenth-century classical economics. But from first to last the economic illustrations, which concern such matters as landholding, wages, population movement, and employment and unemployment, are far more frequently taken from the state where Henry George was living than from any other place. The thought is fascinating that the play between exciting environment – *our environment* – and exciting book should have been intimate and effective. Yet neither the followers of Henry George nor the historians of democratic thought have yet made an effort to study George as a product of the California environment. More of this later. Suffice to note here that while *Progress and Poverty* indicates the imprint of environment, it obliges us to note also the long perspectives of the mind of Henry George. Most particularly the little-read and little-appreciated last part of the book, under the title "The Law of Human Progress," reveals a social and ethical mind not bounded by the practical and economic concerns of one state or region. The Beards correctly say that George's use of the concept of civilization elevates him to rank with the most acute generalizers in American social thought. So the concluding passages of the book drive us back to the first question raised above: What equipment of mind and spirit did Henry George bring to play upon the conditions of economic life? In what forms, and in terms of what values, did he reach his most sweeping general ideas?

I have already mentioned the little education of the eighteen-year-old immigrant of 1858. His beginnings in Philadelphia were humble enough, though by no means of the lowliest. He was the son of Richard George, a small publisher, whose business was the distribution of Episcopal Church and Sunday School books. The father was not very successful, and not always a business man; for many years he supported a large family (there were twelve children in all) on a Custom House clerkship. He led his family in the daily Biblical piety of Low-Church Episcopalianism; he participated with them in some discussion of the affairs of the Republic. The George family was Democratic in that northern wing of Jackson's party which easily swung toward free-soil; at seventeen, Henry George was hearing and talking about the abolitionist movement, and deciding, ahead of his elders, that right thinking must be definitely opposed to slavery. But the George family had no basis, either in wealth or tradition, for the boys to go to college or to master the secular classics. Henry never completed his work in either the Episcopal academy or the high school which he entered; he had no formal schooling at all at a later age than thirteen. Some months before he was sixteen he went to sea; he traveled as far as Calcutta in 1855, and then returned to Philadelphia. The depression of 1857 sent him to sea again; and after a voyage through the Strait he arrived in San Francisco on May 27, 1858. The annals of Henry George up to this time are the annals of a poor boy in a large family. His native gifts for thought and expression were thoroughly untrained.

At this point the appreciation of Albert J. Nock helps us to follow the none-too-plain continuity between the mind of Henry, as young son of Richard George, and the mind of the forty-year-old author of *Progress and Poverty*. Nock points out that, in the pious attitudes and habits of his family, Henry George had been saturated in the spirit and language of the King James Bible, and that this education by absorption and coloration remained with him for life. He also suggests that the firm sensitive writing of Henry George, in his diary and letters of 1855 while he was at sea, shows a mind quick to notice things and feel them – a mind that, even at seventeen, was effective in finding the right words to express interesting meanings. From my own reading of George's private papers, I believe that Nock's ideas do not exaggerate either the Biblical or the early literary focus of George's mind.

At least as early as his eighteenth year, that is before he left Philadelphia, the boy had troubled to write essays entitled "The Poetry of Life" and "Mormonism"; and during his early years in San Francisco he did pieces some of which were practical in spirit, and others of which were thoroughly imaginative. Two of them, "Aim for the Best" and "On the Profitable Employment of Time," are reminiscent of Benjamin Franklin, a man and writer whom George greatly admired. Some, notably one entitled "Dust to Dust" and printed in the weekly *Californian*, are mystical, almost spiritualist, in suggestion, but nevertheless indicate a young man's gift in evoking mood and place; and they show that he was remembering and reflecting on the experiences of his voyages of the mid-fifties. Henry George's capacities were recognized on San Francisco's "literary frontier." His writings are to be found in the same early volumes of the *Overland Monthly* that contain the writings of Bret Harte; one or two are in a purely romantic vein, and the others have to do with economic and political affairs and so reflect the growing interests of a young journalist and pamphleteer.

Two illustrations will indicate how the developing mind of Henry George never broke from its early anchorage in Bible feeling and piety. He was a printer in the office of the *Alta California* when the Civil War ended and when the shocking news arrived of the assassination of President Lincoln. In great intensity he wrote a letter, and it was printed under the head "Sic Semper Tyrannis." Henry George visualized the Good Friday afternoon in the theater; Booth became the "spirit incarnate of tyranny and wrong"; Lincoln he assimilated to Christ – the just was struck down, because of his justice; future generations would see the drama, call Lincoln blessed, and make perish the wicked. The paper was millenial in thought, and perhaps a little juvenile. But a few days later he wrote a soberer letter, and this the *Alta* published as an unsigned editorial under the head, "The Character of Lincoln." In this instance, Henry George assimilated Lincoln to the democratic flow of American history: he was "no common man, yet the qualities which made him great and loved were eminently common . . . No other system than American democracy could have produced him." Thus, in his own way, a mere San Francisco printer, Henry George, made himself a contributor to the democratic legend, the folk mysticism, which surrounds Lincoln as it does no other American.

The second illustration of Henry George's persistence in the early, religious vein, while he also developed as an economic thinker, comes from 1878, the year in which he did most of the writing of *Progress and Poverty*.

In a lecture entitled "Moses," before a Y. M. H. A. audience in San Francisco, George dwelt with feeling on the implications of the Exodus of the Jews from Egyptian slavery; he elaborated on the qualities of leadership which such a movement must have required of Moses; he made comparisons between the Hebrew mind and the Greek mind, in favor of the practicality and the poetry of the Hebrews, and against the abstruse element in Greek thought. Thus, more than a decade after the Civil War, and more than two decades after he had left his father's home, George was applying the Biblical values and language of that home to express his ideas about human slavery and emancipation. His thought about Moses was the same, essentially, as his thought about Lincoln. Both gained stature as the great leaders of a people *because they were of the people;* and the people were loyal followers because they sensed and loved the community between leadership and "followership." Likewise, George thought about the ancient Jews in the same way that he did about American Negroes, and about all exploited people. Again and again, in *Progress and Poverty*, he was to say: we have freed the Negroes, why enslave ourselves to the new hierarchies created by an industrial society?

We are now ready to estimate an answer to the first of the two main questions about the derivation of *Progress and Poverty*, that is, the question of the intellectual and spiritual standards of the immigrant Henry George — the question of non-environmental, or at least the non-Californian factors, in his thought. We have a sober, Bible-trained boy who grew into an ethical and religious-minded man; we have an individual of expressive, literary qualities of thought; and we have a patriot and humanitarian who was trying to focus attention on the meaning of the Civil War — on the significance of race and slavery, and on the leadership of the great man who emancipated Negroes from slavery. In the lecture on "Moses," he stated an organic conception of man and society; he said that the individual and the group are never truly separate:

> "The truth [is] that each individual must act upon and be acted upon by the society of which he is a part, and that all must in some degree suffer from the sin of each, and the life of each be dominated by the conditions imposed by all."[5]

The mutuality of all men in sin and in condition is an insight which George does not abandon.

In *Progress and Poverty*, to be sure, his larger ideas were to be far more spaciously expressed. The influence on human affairs of geography and climate, for example, are explicitly recognized. Within limits, George may be justly described as an environmentalist in the long tradition of John Locke and Thomas Jefferson. *But the inner factors of society impressed him more:* traditions, institutions, and inherited social ideas, attitudes, and prejudices, tell a great part of the truth about man's destiny. Henry George's "law of social growth" is a law of change and unbalance: there is always change – progress when change is in the direction of equality among men; retrogression when the change is opposite. George came in time to minimize race (physical differences) as a factor in human affairs; he made a good deal of cultural differences. National characteristics he considered to be great and marked; and social class to be a far more telling human differential than race. While he entirely lacked Marx's notion of the social class as a conscious group with either revolution or reaction as its function, George again and again used class ideas, such as those of the proletariat, for description and analysis. The image which lies behind the pessimism of the later part of *Progress and Poverty* is the image of unemployed urban workers. They would be the new barbarians to upset civilization if unemployment and frustration pressed them long enough. How the history of our own times has confirmed this prophecy, a prophecy which was rare enough in the California of 1880!

The element of optimism and hope, which is, after all, central in Henry George, in his book and his movement, may return us to the essentially Christian presumptions of his thought. George believed that all men everywhere have an essential core of intellect and spirit. If all men are subject to slavery, all men too are subject to the emancipating power of ideas. Equality and progress, he says in a culminating passage, will not easily prevail, but sometime they will –"This is the power of Truth." Thus, in George's belief, an individual's thought and feeling constitute the matrix which binds him to society. True thought is the only power the individual has of renewing and strengthening society – that is, of democratizing and saving it.

THE EVOCATION OF ECONOMIC THOUGHT IN CALIFORNIA

As we turn to the narrower focus on Henry George, to the matters which contributed to his economic thought, we may be quite sure that we are dealing with California phenomena almost exclusively. The immigrant of 1858 was a lad of some economic experience indeed. He had known the personal meaning of hard times, as he was to know it again, ever so bitterly, in San Francisco. But he certainly was not a young man of economic training or reading. A tracer of influences and origins would like to be able to say that he brought to San Francisco, under his hat, some measurable part of Philadelphia's priority in American economic thought, which had begun with Benjamin Franklin and had developed through Mathew and Henry Carey, and which was to lead, in time, to the Wharton School and Simon Patten. In fact he seems to have had no appreciation of this priority. Even in San Francisco we can catch only occasional glimpses of him in the 'Sixties, becoming a man of economic ideas. We know that he read books on economics in the library of the What Cheer House and in the Mercantile

Library. But there is no use trying to make an academic economist out of Henry George at any stage, nor even a well-read economics writer before 1871, when he wrote and brought out the pamphlet, *Land and Land Policy*, which was the first and germinal statement of his economic ideas. Before the appearance of *Progress and Poverty*, eight years later, he did indeed read in classical economics. Adam Smith he accepted, of course, as the great founder of economic science. He saw much to approve and follow in Ricardo; much to regret and controvert in Malthus; and much to discuss, both in approval and in objection, in John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer. He knew that his own particulars of thought were similar to the Physiocrats, but he did not pretend to know them well. The reader of the first half of *Progress and Poverty* will judge, correctly, that George's mind was moving freely across the whole range of Anglo-American economic literature. But the reader of *Progress and Poverty*, alone, will not see the economic mind of Henry George in proportion. Not until he has studied *Land and Land Policy*, and George's magazine articles and newspaper editorials, all dealing principally with concrete and specific matters of California conditions, controversy, and policy, will he sense the bulk behind the California illustrations and allusions in *Progress and Poverty* – only then can he fully understand how the school of regional event was a more important school of economics for Henry George than the total of world economic literature.

Above all, Henry George's California was a spectacular community of surging, large-scale, economic growth. Henry George and all observers saw extractive industries established, commercial profits reaped, and processing industries begun. He saw unused land become productive, and sometimes withheld from production; he saw cities rise, speculators succeed and fail; he saw small men become economically great, and poor men and honest men despoiled. This drama was literally catching the eye of the world, and it evoked a proportional amount of written and printed chronicle, judgment, and comment.

Many an observer of Henry George's day had his say about the materialism of California; more than a few said that the material processes were themselves so incredible as to assume the quality of romance, of Olympian rather than human activity. Even the literary magazines, such as the *Hesperian* and the *Overland*, went out strongly for articles which assessed the present and forecast the future of the region. A sort of local movement in economics and sociology, touched with almost millenial hope for California, was as natural for the state as was the geological survey, in process during the 'Sixties, which had for its aim a scientific view of the resources of the state.

The easiest illustration I have noticed of the way in which the spacious conditions of California invited men to think on a wide and large scale of geography, climate, industry, labor, society, and social control, is to be found in a manuscript in the Huntington Library. This is a letter from James Gadsden of South Carolina, a leading statesman and spokesman of the Old South, to Thomas Jefferson Green, a southerner and leader in the new state legislature. The date is 1851. Gadsden wanted the California state authorities to give, or to help him get, a big land grant: it must be large enough for a self-sufficing community; the conditions must be right for cotton and a variety of other farm products; there must be a town site, with available water transportation to the coast; there should be access to the mining country, as an outlet for seasonal operations by Negro slave labor. The whole thing has a certain quality of unreality: Gadsden's notion of proceeding, as he said, by military order across the continent to some place, probably in the San Joaquin Valley, and there establishing a well-regulated, master-and-slave society, fails to make sense within the premises. California was already a free state; and the extreme mobility of the free, white miners, of the placer-mining period, would in any case have had a devastating influence on a slave colony. But the point is that largeness of hope is what California gave to men, even though they were ever so different from the northern, reformist character of Henry George. Men thought big and loose, in terms appropriate to the bigness and looseness of early California society.

The expansive mood was of course natural to the writers of California promotion literature. Here I pick, as representative rather than brilliant, a pamphlet by a writer named J. J. Werth. It was published in Benicia, in 1851, the year of Gadsden's letter, under the title, *A Dissertation on the Resources and Policy of California, Mineral, Agricultural, and Promotional.* Reasoning from data on the richness of California mines and her potentials in agriculture and trade, Werth concluded with certain "Reflections on the Destiny of California." "Progression, Progression," he declares; in three years the state has accomplished what elsewhere would require a generation; in her own fast time California will have a diversified economy, ample railroads, and cottage residences for a happy population.

Writers of promotional literature were peculiarly sensitive to the acceptable arguments of geographic determinism. Again and again, San Francisco Bay was declared to indicate a great metropolis, a West Coast center, and a focus for the trade of the entire Pacific area for an indefinite period of time. California essayists and spokesmen, even as high in reputation as Thomas Starr King, the patriot Unitarian minister, delighted to note their destiny as at the farthest reach of the continental expansion of the United States, at a new beginning of America's manifest destiny, namely, the commercial and cultural reach towards the Far East. The argument was essentially the same as that so prominent recently in the San Francisco newspapers apropos of the world security meeting of the United Nations. San Francisco has always been conscious of her position at a crossroads of the world.

The impact of the California drama of social growth was so inclusive that even those who hated the place, disliked the fog, and detested the promoters, talked in the same large assimilative language of geography, economy, and society. No one ever took a gloomier view of the place than did Hinton Rowan Helper, who "told off" California in 1855, in a little book entitled *The Land of Gold. Reality Versus Fiction*, a couple of years before he did his better-known *Impending Crisis in the South*. Helper went to great lengths of statistical demonstration to show that California had already proved an economic failure: the purchase price paid Mexico, plus the expenditures of emigration from the eastern states, plus labor spent in California, all added to a much higher figure than the mineral wealth which California exported in the first seven years, to repay these costs. The deficit he figured to be $60,000,000. Helper hated California for its unemployment, especially in San Francisco, in much the same way that he hated the slave system for what it did to free white labor in the South. In all his excess of argument and denunciation, Helper talked the language of regional economics and life. He agreed with the promoters on one point at least, namely, that California's "spacious harbors and geographical position are her true wealth."

The illustrations which I have chosen are all taken from the 1850's. Considered together, Gadsden, Werth, King, and Helper indicate the early, widespread use of the terms of economics, geography, and sociology in California. They show that these terms were applied regionally, in controversy, and with feeling. But these men and their writings do not go so far as to indicate any very ample, or disciplined, or critical, application of the language of social appraisal. Yet such an achievement did come in California, and it came rapidly. It came rather in the 1860's than in the '50's; that is, it came during the decade in which Henry George was working his way into journalism, and feeling his way into public affairs. Beginning in 1863, the publishing houses in San Francisco of Bancroft and of A. Roman, particularly, produced a remarkable series of substantial works. They are familiar to all students of California history:

John S. Hittell, *The Resources of California comprising Agriculture, Mining, Geography, Climate, Commerce, etc., etc., and the Past and Future Development of the State*. (Roman, 1863, and many later editions).

Titus Fey Cronise, *The Natural Wealth of California* (Bancroft, 1868).

Bentham Fabian, *The Agricultural Lands of California* (Bancroft, 1869).

In time, during the 1870's, there was to be published Professor Ezra S. Carr's *Patrons of Husbandry*, a history of the Grange in the state, but, more than that, a broad discussion of agriculture, landholding, and of agrarian protest and policy. The seventh and final volume of H. H. Bancroft's huge *History of California*, covering the period from 1860 to 1890, and published in 1890, in a sense completes the series begun by Hittell. Its unusually broad inclusions, such as the history of agriculture, grazing, manufacturing, commerce, business, public opinion, labor, railroads, mining, and urbanism, mark it with the same stamp of regional social consciousness as the works of the '60's and '70's.

The significance of these books, in California social thought, lies partly in their high quality as regional surveys and analyses, and partly also, of course, in their origin and intention to promote and guide the growth of the state. Note the dates: 1863, when the first edition of Hittell's *Resources of California* was published, and 1874, the date of the sixth edition, span the decade during which this literature appeared. The decade also spans railroad organizing and building, a decade of great hope and then sharp depression. Note the more particular conditions: California immigration had risen sharply during the early years of the Civil War; then it declined and one year went into actual reverse; and, again, at the end of the decade of the '60's it picked up once more. But the increase of immigration and population growth was low in proportion to the newer states of the Mississippi Valley – Iowa, Minnesota, and other states. What concerned this region, and in particular the business mind of the region, was that the completed railroad, in 1869 and after, did not appreciably stimulate the growth of the population.

To all these conditions, Hittell and Cronise and lesser California economics writers responded. Their books show a common purpose, the purpose of building up the state by attracting a permanent population. The idea was that the old, fluid mining society had supplied no proper basis for stable life. Let mining become more settled, as the deep-mining operations of the 1860's had promised. More particularly, the argument ran, let the state's economy become balanced by a large extension of agriculture, and a development of industry and commerce. The central core of agreement among Hittell, Cronise, and their kind was that California's need was for small farms and proprietor-farmers. From a great increase of that sort would come most of the desirable economic, social, and institutional results – food for the cities, business for the railroads, markets for industries, a stable and attached citizenry, the basis of democracy. The argument was promotional, but it was developed and sophisticated far beyond Werth's little pamphlet of 1851. Where criticism was called for, Hittell, especially, was the man to be critical. In the 1863 edition he was very sharp in his strictures of California's land monopolists, and the insecurity of land titles in the state. I venture the tentative opinion that in the long history of regional economic surveys in this country, from Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* to *Recent Social Trends* and the reports of the National Resources Planning Board, California's group of regional reporters will bear comparison with the best.

One more very plain, and, I think, illuminating, illustration will indicate how economic interests and intellectual interests converged in social thinking and social planning for the state. The following passage is from pages three and four of a little pamphlet, *Common Sense Applied to the Immigrant Question,* printed in San Francisco in 1869:

> We are forced to stop and ask what there is in our civilization that is so shrunken and shrivelled by the magnetic current setting towards us through the iron conductor from the East. We are led for the first time in our existence — hitherto isolated — to look beyond the present moment, to study the past and contemplate the future, in order to derive from the experience of the remaining ninety-nine and a half per cent of the world's population, the facts and figures wherefrom to work out our own destiny.

The author of this sober, not to say alarmist, passage about California's destiny, in the first moment of her railroad connection with the world, was no radical. He was Caspar T. Hopkins, president of the California Insurance Company, and he was writing in his other capacity as president of the newly formed California Immigrant Union. On his board of the Immigrant Union sat Charles Crocker of the Central Pacific, and a whole galaxy of San Francisco bankers, merchants, and manufacturers. In time this same C. T. Hopkins was to be author of a school textbook in civics, under the title of *A Manual of American Ideas* (1873), an occasional lecturer at the University of California, and a founder and writer for the Pacific Social Science Association (he wrote a paper on foreign trade in 1881).

The social ideas promoted and the policies proposed in his several writings are the time-honored American ones. Men and women — he was a bit of a feminist — have rights, grounded in fundamental law; society grows from an agricultural base, and it must be constantly renewed from that source. Waste and speculation Hopkins deplored. His praise was for industry, thrift, and sobriety, as moral and economic virtues, one and the same. For California, he and his Immigrant Union wanted a population built up by Britishers and northwestern Europeans, who could be absorbed into the economy, the polity, and the ideology of the country. He wanted Oriental immigration stopped.

His ideas could almost be called the official ideals of California growth. No one said him nay. His associates were the leaders of the whole community; his convictions accorded with patterns of thought denied hardly anywhere in the Republic.

HENRY GEORGE IN THE CONTEXT OF CALIFORNIA SOCIAL THOUGHT

At this point we must return to Henry George, and observe somewhat specifically the ways in which he responded to the climate of opinion in California. But first of all we may anticipate by noting that in many ways *Land and Land Policy* and *Progress and Poverty* show him to have been not a dissenter but a conformist with the Hittell-Hopkins type of thought. As he loved and believed in California, he was certainly much more of a conformist than Hinton R. Helper.

Specifically, in common with Hittell and Hopkins, he made all the grand assumptions of classical, natural-law economics. He made these theoretical premises as plain as possible in a lecture at the University of California in 1877, on "The Study of Political Economy." [6] Thus George stood both physically and philosophically on the same ground as C. T. Hopkins. Like Hittell and Cronise, moreover, George's writing qualifies him as a descriptive and empirical economist, as well as a logical one. *Land and Land Policy* is strictly a work on the American West; the first edition carried a map indicating the railroad grants of California, and the argument is packed with statistical data. *Progress and Poverty* also has no slight amount of regional imprint, as I have suggested. A first rough count shows some thirty instances of George's using California data to substantiate his points.

More concretely, Henry George many times dramatized the significance of the railroad, as did the businessmen. In an *Overland Monthly* article of 1868 (Hittell and Hopkins also wrote for the *Overland*), he anticipated the stimulating effect the railroad would have on California; he also anticipated that it would cause some social dislocation.[7] Likewise, on the point of agricultural settlement, George shared a large area of agreement with Hittell and Hopkins. He too thought that California needed small farmers; he thought that land monopoly was the great obstacle to their coming; and, in common with the Immigrant Union and others, he opposed Chinese immigration some years before the Exclusion Act of 1882.

The large differences between George's social thought and that of the businessmen may be reduced, for present purposes, to three. First, there is a difference of mood or attitude towards the growth of the state, which may be described as his romantic pessimism. "What is the charm of California?" he asked in that *Overland* article on the railroad. Not climate; not mere lack of social restraint; not the chance to make money; not local attachment; not culture. "No: the potent charm of California, which all feel but few analyze, has been more in the character, habits, and modes of thought of her people – called forth by the peculiar conditions of the young state – than in anything else." [8] The charm rested in a certain cosmopolitanism, a certain breadth of common thought and feeling, natural where origins were so diverse, and where feelings of personal independence and equality prevailed. Henry George's nostalgia, and his vein of distrust in promotion, draw a real line between him and Hittell or Cronise. There is something of Henry Thoreau in Henry George, the city dweller; there is none of that in the ideas of Hittell and Hopkins.

A second line of distinction between him and them is expressed by his class consciousness. Although he feared and hated the growth of social hierarchies, he never sought to escape the mark of the proletarian. In fact he used that very word, "Proletarian," as a pseudonym, in a series of political letters printed in the *Sacramento Daily Union*. And in all the self-consciousness of his Berkeley lecture of 1877, he made a focal point of his contention that the study of political economy in Great Britain and America was pro-capitalist. Contrariwise, he urged, the best and truest service of economic study would be to extend the social sympathies to the lower classes, and to attack the practical questions of industrial depression, on behalf of the working man.

Finally, in contradistinction between George and the other San Francisco economists, it was George's gift to write a book which was regional in derivation but not regional in purpose. Where Hittell and Hopkins were thinking of the California economy in terms of growth and stability and property, Henry George was thinking of economic democracy in California and in the world.[9] These two intentions are not quite contradictory, but they certainly are different. A contemporary critic of Hittell said that he knew of no other writer anywhere, communist or capitalist, who was so thoroughly a materialist in his understanding and interpretation of human history as John Hittell.[10] The idealistic Henry George could go part way but not all the way in company with such a mind. At some point he would part company, and take his own course.

TWO SALIENT PARTICULARS OF GEORGE'S THOUGHT IN THEIR CALIFORNIA ENVIRONMENT

In conclusion, I wish to bring home if I can the intimacy of connection between Henry George's thought and his California environment by reference to two of the most salient and best-known particulars of the economic reasoning of *Progress and Poverty*. First, as Henry George was speaking for the common man, and was trying both to elevate the role of labor in economic thought and to promote economic thinking among working people, he naturally gave much space in *Progress and Poverty* to the subjects, capital and labor. His salient idea here he expressed in a phrase: "Labor employs capital." "Labor employs capital," not, "Capital employs labor." Second and better known, the most sweeping statement of radical principle and the focal reform point of *Progress and Poverty*, is the proposition that private property in land is wrong, and that public property is right. This is the principle which lies behind the single-tax reform; the one tax, which would turn over all economic rent to the community, was a proposal to implement the idea of public not private property in land. More specifically, the tax would take for the public the unearned increment of land values; it would leave untouched with the individual holder the gains from labor or capital which he might make upon his piece of land.

Readers of *Progress and Poverty* will recall that Henry George approaches the formula, "Labor employs capital," through the long opening chapters which discuss the meaning of wealth, capital, interest and profits; labor and wages; land and rent. He comes to the point that concerns us when he attacks the wage-fund theory, which he found to be all too widely accepted in current American thought. The then-prevailing idea that wages are largely controlled by the amount of capital devoted to production he found to be untrue; he raised the objection that the wage-fund theory rested on deductive thinking only; he said that the premises were wrong, and that the actual observation of economic facts indicated the wrongness of the theory. His own conclusion he phrased as a product-of-labor theory; wages derive from labor; they are paid *after* the work is done and after the product has been made more valuable by virtue of that labor.[11]

To Henry George's ethical mind, this argument is not without large significance. The wage-fund theory promotes complacence about the major importance and authority of capital in production – that is to say, or almost to say, the major importance of the capitalist in the industrial order. Contrariwise, the product-of-labor theory shifts labor toward the center. The employing capitalist is reduced from something like a sovereign to something like a manager: his function is to manage labor and capital (in Henry George's definition, capital is a product of land and labor). He becomes an economic servant, not an economic autocrat; and where large numbers of people are concerned, he becomes a sort of public servant with a trust.

Henry George seems not to have known that about nine years earlier than he, John Stuart Mill, at the head and center of economic liberalism in Great Britain, had changed his mind about the wage-fund theory. George's own text indicates that in this instance he was not up to date in world economic thought.[12] What concerns us more, and is infinitely suggestive of environmental influences, is that a comparison of George's text with other San Francisco writers of economic controversy shows that his product-of-labor theory was of the very context of regional thought. Let me quote an editorial of July 1878, from a promotion journal, *Hall's Land Journal.* For years, the editorial argued, the high interest rates and high wage rates of California have been regretted by "a certain school of local political economists, who could not see that high wages and high interest were indications that the natural wealth of the country was not yet monopolized, that great opportunities were open to all – who did not see that these were evidences of social health." [13] This was George's own idea, too, and it was supported, to my knowledge, by one or two others as well – just enough for us to be sure that he was not alone in his notion that high wages and high returns to capital go together.

That there was an opposing "local school of political economists" will indicate the relevance of all this to the wage-fund theory. There can be no doubt of the identity of the school: it was the Hittell, Cronise, and Immigrant Union group. In his *Resources of California*, Hittell had made the businessman's argument: high wages were ruining California. How could industry grow if capitalists paid very high wages? The wage-fund idea (as well as the fear of east-coast competition) lurks behind this argument.[14] Even Hopkins, while he was trying to attract immigrants, did not hesitate to argue publicly that wages should go down, not up.[15]

Conceived in this context of difference, Henry George's wider argument about labor in *Progress and Poverty* is consistent, and opposed to the Hittell-Hopkins proposition of deflation. In this connection the California illustrations and allusions are unusually plentiful in *Progress and Poverty*. Why had wages been high? Because in the placer-mining days miners had had direct access to land. In the early days there had been no monopolization of resources, and both wages and interest had been high. The current of Henry George's argument is toward the economy-of-abundance ideas of more recent economics. In George's view, the people should work, capital should invest; no owner should have the power to withhold resources. Such a combination would permit the more ethical order he desired.

Finally, on the great question of the public interest in the land, I wish only to point out that, although *Progress and Poverty* uses very little local illustration on this point, the California environmental influence is none the less very suggestive and very large. George's plea is largely ethical and moral. Land includes all the resources of the earth, says Henry George; it is God's gift to humanity; a human being has right of access to it; this is as much a natural attribute of his being as any other natural right, such as freedom to speak or even freedom to breathe. More concretely, every family has a right to a homestead plot; no individual has the privilege of withholding from use more of God's bounty than he actually needs. Henry George supports this plea by reference to the history of property. In refreshing difference from most Americans, he found a correct principle in the feudal age: in those days a fief had been conceived as a trust; in other words, possession had involved duties. He reserved his especial scorn for the lawyers. He blamed them more than anyone else for the muddy thinking that applied to the land those exclusive and sacred property rights which he agreed were appropriate to personal things and to capital. In his own words, "Historically as ethically, private property in land is robbery." [16]

The land situation in California for a quarter-century after the American occupation – Henry George's California years – is far too complex to formulate or summarize. But I must mention some of the things which caught George's eye. The miners in the placer mines, he said, recognized by a sort of folk wisdom the rightness of common property in the resources of the land. Under the local codes, the miner was allowed no more land than he could work, and he was allowed to hold it only while he actually worked it. His tenure was usufruct rather than ownership, and properly so. Henry George's line of thought was the controversial opposite of the policy urged by Hittell in the 'Sixties, namely, that the federal government should decide that the domain in mineral lands be granted in permanent private tenure. Hittell's argument, that social stability would come only after private ownership had been established, of course carried the day. Henry George's answer to Hittell, namely, that a system of usufruct, which would give security to improvements but which would deny any permanent unconditional ownership, would be adequate to attract capital, failed. The Georgist procedure of the single tax has never been applied to the mineral domains of the United States. On the other hand, the present conservationist principle of government lease of lands rich in subsoil resources is not out of line with George's principle of the public interest.

As for the great California stakes in non-mineral land, which are suggested by the large Mexican land grants, the railroad lands, and the school lands, and the sustained controversies over them, Henry George had declared himself in detail in the pamphlet, *Land and Land Policy*, of 1871. To him, of course, the appalling thing was the lavishness and carelessness with which the domain was granted away; it was all wrong that railroads, speculators, and other large holders were getting so much, and that the Republic took so little heed for the needs of tomorrow. In all the welter of controversy, his mind seized on two established policies that gave him leverage with which to attack the abuses and to develop his principles of the public interest. One is well known, the homestead policy, which had been enacted by Congress in 1862. That policy was not working well in California; and its very intention was to transfer the public domain to private owners. But in a rough and general way, the policy suited George: it was intended to give small tracts to great numbers of settlers. This was land for the people, just as his doctrine of public property in land and his proposal of the single tax represented land for the people. The other policy from which he could draw strength was inherited from the Spanish-Mexican origins of the state. Stemming from the feudal traditions of Spain, the old usage was that the pueblo (or town) lands of the Spanish frontier should be freely and fairly evenly distributed to the settlers. This expressed a policy for an economic democrat to seize upon. In common with at least two or three writers in the *Overland Monthly* and in *Hall's Land Journal*, Henry George's mind reeled at the implications of the pueblo-land policy, especially as they might have been applied in the case of San Francisco. Suppose that the home lots of that big city had gone free to all the settlers; suppose that all the economic rent of the city's business sites had been diverted to the community! What a city of public improvements and community enterprises could it not have afforded to be! So ran Henry George's thought about the city he loved, and so he visualized concretely his single-tax principle.

Public ownership of the land was an actual "might-have-been" of San Francisco history. Such a system did not, of course, come close to political fulfillment. Political insiders, not the commonalty, got the city lots in the early years. But the pueblo-land policy nevertheless lay within the premises of public contemplation during George's early California years; and in certain relevancies and applications it actually received the sanction of United States Court decisions. Had the pueblo-land policy been decided in line with Henry George's logic and the logic of a few contemporaries, San Francisco would have become a single-tax city. A single-tax city, without the name, and without benefit of Henry George and *Progress and Poverty!* As it was, the opportunity missed presented an argument for George's principle.

IN RETROSPECT

There is now pretty well established in this country a habit of critical thought which Henry George would have accepted only with reservations. This is the habit which recognizes that one of the strengths of our national tradition is the persistence with which our leaders attempt to bring social theory to terms with conditions, and to elevate conditions into terms with theory. Thus, Jefferson is praised because he could phrase the logic and literature of the Declaration, and he could also plan successful land reforms for Virginia and successful institutions for the Old Northwest; thus, Lincoln is praised because he could be a successful emancipator and theorist of the Jeffersonian tradition, and also a war leader with high dictatorial powers; and Brandeis is praised because he managed to introduce statistical and other economic material as relevant to the theory and practice of law.

According to this standard of practical idealism, praise is due to Henry George in a proportion measured by his concrete understanding of California conditions. Social idealist he was, but by no means a wholly abstract, or an unobserving idealist. He did assimilate theory and fact; more particularly he assimilated Christian ethics, California economics, and democratic politics. He did this in a factual and systematic way which far surpassed, I think, his contemporaries of the Christian Social Gospel, located principally in the eastern cities. He belongs, in historic fact, in the intellectual, scientific, and revolutionary tradition of Thomas Jefferson, the American he admired above all others.

NOTES

1. Ralph H. Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought* (New York, 1940), pp. 198-204.

2. Charles and Mary Beard, *The American Spirit* (New York, 1942), pp. 364-373.

3. Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought* (New York, 1943), pp. 614-617.

4. Henry George, Jr. *The Life of Henry George. Complete Works of Henry George.* (New York: Library Edition, 1910), X, 349.

5. "Moses," pp. 14-15, in *Complete Works*, VII.

6. In *Complete Works*, VIII, 135-153.

7. "What the Railroad Will Bring Us," *Overland Monthly* (San Francisco), I (July-December 1868), 297-306.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 304.

9. As is well known, George's observation of social conditions in New York City, during a visit in 1869, was one of the experiences which turned his mind to large-scale reform.

10. Walter M. Fisher, *The Californians* (London, 1876), pp. 200-201.

John S. Hittell was the author of a *Brief History of Culture* (New York: D. Appleton, 1875).

11. *Progress and Poverty*, p. 23.

12. As Mill indicated his change of mind in a book review, George's ignorance of it does not make him guilty of a very serious sin of omission in his reading. *See* Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, edited by W. J. Ashley (London, 1909), Appendix O, pp. 991-993. For a discussion of contemporary American opinion, which indicates that economists other than George were also rejecting the wage-fund theory, *see* Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860–1915* (Philadelphia, 1944), pp. 123-125.

13. *Hall's Land Journal* (San Francisco), July, 1878.

14. Hittell, *Resources of California* (1863 ed.), p. 304; *ibid.* (1873 ed.), p. 183.

15. C. T. Hopkins, *Common Sense Applied to the Immigrant Question*, p. 12.

16. *Progress and Poverty*, p. 333.

"Let California Come In"

"...Shall California be received? For myself, upon my individual judgment and conscience, I answer, Yes. For myself, as an instructed representative of one of the States, of that one even of the States which is soonest and longest to be pressed in commercial and political rivalry by the new Commonwealth, I answer, Yes. Let California come in. Every new State, whether she come from the East or from the West, every new State, coming from whatever part of the continent she may, is always welcome. But California, that comes from the clime where the west dies away into the rising east; California, that bounds at once the empire and the continent; California, the youthful queen of the Pacific, in her robes of freedom, gorgeously inlaid with gold – is doubly welcome.

"...States, nations, and empires, are apt to be peculiarly capricious, not only as to the *time*, but even as to the *manner*, of their being born, and as to their subsequent political changes. They are not accustomed to conform to precedents. California sprang from the head of the nation, not only complete in proportions and full armed, but ripe for affiliation with its members.

"Well-established calculations in political arithmetic enable us to say that the aggregate population of the nation now is 22,000,000 . . . That 100 years hence, that is, in the year 1950, it will be 200,000,000, equal nearly to one-fourth of the present aggregate population of the globe, and double the population of Europe at the time of the discovery of America. But the advance of population on the Pacific will far exceed what has heretofore occurred on the Atlantic coast, while emigration even here is outstripping the calculations on which the estimates are based. There are silver and gold in the mountains and ravines of California. The granite of New England and New York is barren.

"...The Atlantic States, through their commercial, social, and political affinities and sympathies, are steadily renovating the Governments and the social constitutions of Europe and of Africa. The Pacific States must necessarily perform the same sublime and beneficent functions in Asia...

"'We may then reasonably hope for greatness, felicity, and renown, excelling any hitherto attained by any nation, if, standing firmly on the continent, we loose not our grasp on the shore of either ocean. Whether a destiny so magnificent would be only partially defeated, or whether it would be altogether lost, by a relaxation of that grasp, surpasses our wisdom to determine, and happily it is not important to be determined. It is enough, if we agree that expectations so grand, yet so reasonable and so just, ought not to be in any degree disappointed. And now it seems to me that the perpetual unity of the Empire hangs on the decision of this day and of this hour.

"Try not the temper and fidelity of California – at least not now, not yet. Cherish her and indulge her until you have extended your settlements to her borders, and bound her fast by railroads, and canals, and telegraphs, to your interests – until her affinities of intercourse are established, and her habits of loyalty are fixed – and then she can never be disengaged."

(*From* Speech of William H. Seward, on the Admission of California. Delivered in the Senate of the United States, March 11, 1850.)

California Emigrant Letters

Compiled by Walker D. Wyman

OVERLAND IN 1849 (Continued)

Tragedy at the North Platte Crossing

Colloma, or Sutter's Mill
August 15, 1849

At North Platte we calked our wagon beds, ferried over all on a day, passed two teams and sped onward, and the same also at Green River. You have ere this heard of the melancholy event that befell Capt. Hitt's company at the first of these rivers. It is a rapid mountain stream, and was chiefly crossed by the Emigrants in a craft constructed by lasing [sic] 4 rudely dug-out canoes together. And was crossed by ropes drawn by men on either shore. In this way Hitt's men had ferried all over and after swimming their mules over were some of them crossing themselves. The craft was too heavily laden, by the men who were anxious to cross, and the men on the shore who were tired did not permit the rope which they were letting out to go far enough, and the rapid torrent dashed over the feeble structure and all vanished. Young W. Y. Crockett is said to have arisen but once, and sunk forever. John Chadwell clung for a long time to Thomas Carth who was only saved by the former sinking and being himself picked up by a man in a wagon bed just as he was going down. Stars, who was a stranger in the company from Indiana, never arose to the surface. Thomas J. O'Niel and Thomas Orear were also picked up and Washington Nichols and Thomas Hitt swam out. Such is the gloomy tragedy of the crossing of the North Platte, too mournfully memorable in the annals of our trip. Thus perished two of our esteemed associates, both endeared to us by their spotless virtues. Their bodies, after search, could not be found, and alone they lay entombed in the dark waters of the desert stream, and their remains must whiten its scorching sands. Of young Crockett I am constrained to say he was one of the very best of men: enemies he had none, but all who knew [him] loved him. On the same morning and before this occurrence, Mr. Trumbaugh of Hitt's company came very near being drowned in swimming the same stream with his stock and only got out with the utmost difficulty by a rope being thrown to him.

Wm. B. Royall
Missouri *Statesman*, Oct. 26, 1849

Celebrating the 4th of July on the Plains

Sacramento City, Oct. 14, 1849

On the 4th of July we had a barbecue, tapped a keg of good old brandy, and all hands got gentlemanly tite [sic], and towards the close of the evening we fired 13 rounds in remembrance of the days of '76. Such a thing I expect never took place on the plains before.

James A. Douglass, formerly of Howard County, Mo.
Missouri *Statesman*, Mar. 1, 1850

Salt Lake City Affected by the Gold Rush

Salt Lake City

The valley has been a place of general deposit for property, goods, &c. ... When they [the emigrants] saw a few bags and kegs of gold dust that had been gathered and brought in by our boys, it made them completely enthusiastic. Pack mules and horses that were worth twenty-five or thirty dollars in ordinary times, would readily bring two hundred dollars in property at the lowest price. Goods and other property were daily offered at auction in all parts of the city. For a light Yankee wagon, sometimes three or four great heavy ones would be offered in exchange, and a yoke of oxen thrown in. Common domestic sheeting sold from five to ten cents per yard by the bolt. The best of spades and shovels for fifty cents each. Vests that cost in St. Louis one dollar and fifty cents each, were sold at Salt Lake City for three bits, or 37½ cents. Full chests of joiner's tools that would cost one hundred and fifty dollars in the East, were sold for $25. Indeed, almost every article, except sugar and coffee, is selling on an average fifty per cent below wholesale prices in the Eastern cities. Would it not be a grand speculation for Kanesville and St. Joseph merchants to go to Salt Lake to lay in their fall stock of goods? They can buy plenty of wagons there for less than one half what the iron cost in St. Louis, and any number of cattle to haul them back. This kind of operation has put the people on their legs in the valley, but when the alcohol was brought forward and sold, it threw some of them off their legs, not having had any for a couple of years or so, and being rather exhausted by digging gold all the time, they were not wise to hazard a contest with so potent an enemy, more to be dreaded than the mobs of Illinois ... Many of the emigrants would pay no attention to the warnings of our people not to let their cattle drink of the water so strongly impregnated with saleratus. They said it was all a "Mormon humbug" about the alkali being strong enough to kill their cattle, and the consequences were more than two thousand dead carcasses of oxen lay strewed along the way, and the very offensive smell caused there by, rendered it almost impossible to travel near the road. The cholera has been very fatal among the Indians. In one place Mr. Babbit mentions as having passed ten lodges with many dead Indians lying about and their bodies torn and half eaten by the wolves.

Kanesville *Frontier Guardian*, quoted
by St. Joseph *Adventure*, Sept. 14, 1849

Overland With a Pack Train Emigrant

Sacramento City, Aug. 7, 1849

After a long and tedious, perplexing and fatiguing trip, I have reached the much talked of place, the Sacramento valley, in good health and spirits.

I left the Missouri river on the 12th of May last, I arrived here on Aug. 5th, making 86 days out. We were detained on the route 17 days, about 14 of which was on account of sickness of some of the company. Every man in it was at different times too sick to stand guard, except brother Mason and myself, and some of them were dangerously ill. Immediately after leaving the river we found the cholera wending its way over the plains, passing several fresh graves every day, until we reached Fort Kearney, 300 miles from St. Joseph, beyond which point but few cases if any were seen or heard of. We lost two of our company of 17, one of them Samuel Wilson, of St. Joseph, a very stout hardy Irishman, a blacksmith by trade, and had been in the volunteer service, was taken down with the cholera about 75 miles from the Mo. river, and died in seven hours after first complaining – the other gentleman was Mr. Hugh Riddle, late of Baltimore, Md. He received a mortal wound on Mary's river about 100 miles after striking the head of it; he stepped out some ten steps from his pile of packs at a late hour of the night to see about his mules, and was discovered near the mule by a fellow called Kirkwood, a great poltroon and fool doubtlessly, but not knowing whom it was, hailed him three times, (so said) but getting no reply to his question shot him while in a few yards of camp . . . He was shot on the night of 17th of June, and died on the morning of the 19th.

I stood the trip across equally as well as I expected, and although anticipating many hardships, and inconveniences on the road, I must acknowledge that they exceed all anticipation. And I say now that I don't think I will ever be caught on the plains again, if there is any other safe chance of getting to the States. I must admit that those who had wagons had many advantages over us as to comforts, but I know of several mountains on the route that I would not attempt to drive a wagon and team over for them. We were not exposed to many hard storms, some times we had tents but most of the way we had no tent poles, and we cut up the tent cloth for saddle cloths; 8 or 900 miles from here the plains presented a picture this summer before unheard of in the history of emigration. There has been the most profuse waste and destruction of most every thing started with by emigrants, the cause has been from having their wagons entirely too large, over loading them and breaking their teams down; the greater part of the road from here to Missouri, was strewn as we came along with a great many articles. I suppose we saw something like a hundred wagons thrown away, some of them burnt, cut up and so forth. There are fearful apprehensions by many persons here about the emigrants, who are some distance back; it is believed that at least one-third of the wagons can't possibly get here in consequence of grass being bad in many places. We saw where quantities of bacon, flour, salt, beans, saleratus, coffee, sugar, tools of every description, such as picks, spades, shovels, axes, saws, augurs, chisels, planes &c., gold washers and cooking stoves in abundance, log-chains, powder, lead and any number of guns, dry goods, law books, novels, and a little of everything else, I believe. There is a great deal of stock broken down on the road, I lost my riding animal (Phillis) on Mary's river, and I had a mule to break down while crossing a very repulsive desert to me.

The grass on Mary's river has been grossly misrepresented by many of the guide books; it is very bad for about 100 miles on the lower part of it. We went about that distance and reached the sink on that river which is a very disagreeable place; the water is horrid, being unfit for man or beast, it has a strong alkaline taste, no grass, all the chance for grazing is on coarse rushes. We left that place late in the evening for a desert of 45 miles, without any grass or a drop of water, with the exception of a branch, 12 miles from the sink, of the most poisonous quality; we took a left hand road when we got a mile or two into it, called Child's route; it strikes over on to Carson river; that route does not touch Truckee river at all – most of the emigrants take the road we traveled. The desert is a very hazardous place to cross, it is a road of very heavy sand, quantities of stock will perish on it for want of water and grass; the stock is in such bad condition when they enter it that a great many of them can't stand it. I did not get but a few miles into it before my riding mule broke down, and I had to get on a company horse, putting a light pack on my mule. We went a few miles further and Mason had to leave a fine saddle horse, and take a mule; we went on then till morning, when we found ourselves some 18 miles or 20 miles from Carson river; my mule refused to go at all, and knowing it to be for want of water, I desired to get him out; I took the pack off and put it on the horse I was riding, and then took it on foot – Mason and myself riding time about; I almost suffocated for water before I could get in. The road was strewn with wagons for some 10 miles in the desert, where the emigrants had to drive them to water & graze them before they could get out. Carson river is a very pretty stream and splendid grass on it, we went up that stream about 90 miles and took across the Sierra Nevada Mountains, which is enough to paralize [sic] the energies of most any person to undertake to cross some of the ridges. It is a travel of 3 or 4 days to get out of them. There is very fine grass in the mountains for the first 40 or 50 miles, and then on to this place there is very little good grass. When within about 65 miles, we as well as others, had to leave the road 3 or 4 miles to recruit our stock, to enable them to make the balance of the route.

D. H. Moss to his relatives
Paris (Missouri) *Mercury*, quoted by St. Joseph
Adventure, Nov. 2, 1849

Relief for the Emigrants

Rio Rico Mines, Feb. 12, 1850

I did not remain long at the Mocolumne [sic] river mines, being strongly urged to accompany an express which was about to be sent across the Sierra Nevada mountains, under the command of Capt. Kilburn, of the U. S. army, to ascertain the condition of the emigrants, many of whom had not yet passed the mountains, and were reported to be in much need of succor.

I returned to Sacramento City, from which point our party started on the 11th of September last. Our route was the middle or "Trucky river" route, via Johnston's rancho, Bear River, thence across the Sierra Nevada to Trucky river and the Sink of the Humboldt, or Mary's river. From that point we returned by the "Carson river route" to Sacramento. We found the emigration in much need of assistance. On account of the scarcity of grass on the latter part of the journey many of the oxen were dead, as well as mules, leaving, in many cases, whole families of men, women, and children to perform the remainder of the journey on foot. Some were entirely destitute of provisions, and were required to subsist on dead mules, cattle, etc., they found along the route. Immediately on the return of Capt. Kilburn's express, a large train of pack mules was fitted out, and despatched under the command of Mr. Tobert Hunt, of St. Louis. Other trains were sent out on various routes, under command of Col. Forman, of Illinois, Capt. Chandler, an old mountaineer, and Major Rocker, of the U. S. army. I accompanied Mr. Hunt's company, whose route was the southern, or Carson river route. We immediately crossed the mountains, during which time many mules and provisions were distributed to those of the emigrants that were destitute. Soon after leaving the mountains, on the eastern side, we met with the last train of emigrants on our route. Capt. Sackett and family, of St. Louis, were with this train, and, although not in very destitute condition, the remainder of our unpacked mules were immediately turned over to them and everything done to hasten their passage of the mountains, on account of the great danger of snow storms in them at this season of the year, it being then about 1st. November.

In two days we re-crossed the summit, the most dangerous point on the mountains, and encamped some 10 or 15 miles from it, in a great valley, to rest, and recruit our mules. After resting here some three days, we repacked and made preparations for our descent. . . .

W. A. George
Missouri *Republican*, Apr. 19, 1850

Suffering in the Desert

Sacramento City, Aug. 20, 1849

We traversed a desert 300 miles long, and for sixty miles we saw not a blade of grass, nor drop of water, and all that cheered our imaginations was a boiling spring, which gave some variety to the monotonous uniformity of the scenery. It was necessary to travel day and night, so as to pass this cheerless solitude as fast as possible, lest our animals and ourselves should be prostrated by pitiless thirst. I had almost lost one of my horses in passing the desert. I was parched with thirst and often sat down fatigued on the burning sand, cajoling my horse and almost imploring him to hold out a few hours longer. One of our company rode faster than myself, and reached the land of promise while I was yet behind dragging along my horse. Our friend returned with some water which my horse drank out of my hands, enough to cool his parched tongue, and he recovered; so that about nightfall we reached the river where we reposed after this severe journey. The next day we commenced the ascent of the Sierra Nevada and reaching the top we looked down on the world below, where the thunder and lightning were disturbing the calm, and a snow storm was clouding the terrific scene of elemental war. The cold that ensued was so intense that I was unable to saddle my horse. Like a philosopher, however, I braved the anger of the elements, and seeking protection under a far branching tree, I soon became sufficiently comfortable to imitate on my Harmonica, the symphonious harmony of the shepard who is bewailing in solitude the absence of his beloved Daphne, and the charms of music brought back to me all the sweet remembrance of by-gone days, and of past years.

S. Knudson
Platte Argus, quoted by St. Joseph
Adventure, Dec. 14, 1849

From the North Platte to California

Colloma, Aug. 15, 1849

From the North Platte we passed through a barren region to the Sweet Water and then up its romantic valley, crowned with some of the finest scenery in the world. Thence by an easy ascent we passed to the South Pass, and over the Rocky Mountains, whose tops were covered with snow, and where we had much cold and unpleasant weather. For nearly a month not a day passed without rain, but now we have seen none for a month. Taking Sublett's cut-off we had a night and days journey of 52 miles without water, though abundance of grass. Thence crossing Green River, (a still more fearful mountain torrent than the North Platte,) in our wagon beds, we passed over high mountains down into the beautiful valley of Bear River. It is a most enchanting region of abundant grasses, flowers and waters, with springs of soda and mineral. The scenery here too is both pleasing and sublime, with many scattered remains of volcanic character. We saw here an immense village of Indians travelling, and I had the pleasure of seeing them cross a deep stream. Whole families, with all their worldly effects passed through in rapid succession with laughs, and shouts, and loud halloos; they lashed the young colts, and papooses, and even puppies to the backs of their horses, and children not over 8 years old passed safely over, riding one horse, driving one, leading another, and if some awkward wight chanced to fall in, stout young warriors posted along the bank plunged in and dragged him out amid the whoops of hundreds around.

We reached Fort Hall on the 4th of July; here we got a little fresh beef, cheese and a little milk, which I carried in a bucket for 2 miles, and I assure you we luxuriated richly over these dainties on that night. We passed down Lewis' Fork to the Columbia, through a barren and forbidding region, and turning to the left of it, kept on the old Oregon trail only a short time and struck off then upon the Mountains for the St. Mary's. We travelled down this solitary stream for near 200 miles and crossed nearly through the Basin: it was an unpleasant part of the trip with bad roads, little grass and poor waters, and the heat and dust were almost overpowering. It sinks away in lakes and lagoons and looses its waters in the sands of the desert, though it is a stream of much more water than the Perche. At the sink [Humboldt] the water is so strongly alkaline that it is with great difficulty that man and beast use it and yet this is all they can get for cooling thirst across the desert which is right at hand. The sink itself extends for 30 miles and is without grass; including the desert there is here a stretch of 75 miles without grass and almost without water. We struck the desert at 10 o'clock A.M. Altho' we travelled all day and nearly all night we did not get through its burning sands, till 10½ o'clock next day and then only by leaving our wagons behind and taking out ourselves and our stock. Went back afterwards in the night and brought out our wagons, as hundreds of others did also. The sand is very heavy; and the stock weakened for the want of food and water, find a hard fate here, though it extends only 45 miles. Thousands of putrid carcasses of horses, mules and oxen lay along the track and ere now they have been forced to make a new one. Here for the first time in my life I experienced what it was to feel burning thirst; my mouth dried up, my lips adhered and my eyes turned anxiously to the distant groves marking the limpid stream. But the men all made out to reach Carson River, a beautiful stream of fine water and grass where all recruit. Up its valley lays the route slowly penetrating the Sierra Nevada, which Mountains are difficult of passage but might be made much better. We gradually wended our toilsome way over its rocky and rugged peaks taking a noon collation of cold ham on its utmost summit. We took a like precious meal on the waters of the desert, together with a pint of excellent old peach brandy presented me by our old friend Prof. Hudson, whose health we remembered to drink on that lonely solitude, hoping he might long live to enjoy as we then did the good things of life. We took the Mormon route across the desert and Mountains, and met some of those persevering people returning from California, at the base of the Mountains on the east side, laden with gold, and their accounts of its plenty cheered us very much in our toils over the Mountains. Our company of 27, led by M. D. Stone . . . are all here safe and well, with all their wagons and freight. The emigrants generally will all get in safe, but thousands of wagons and stock and loads must be left by the way.

Wm. B. Royall
Missouri *Statesman*, Oct. 26, 1849

Résumé of the Overland Journey

Weaverville, California
Nov. 21, 1849

From home to Fort Childs, we had mud, rain and sickness, with contrary teams; from here to Fort Laramie we had quite good roads and plenty of grass, but for ourselves, we had dry weather, which was more pleasant than the rains on the Platte. From Fort Laramie though, we had not as much rain as would wet a man. We had the North Platte to ferry; from here to the South Pass, we had fine roads, with the exception of sand. Never was I so agreeably surprised, as when we came to the South Pass; we had expected to see mountains; well, mountains were plenty, yet we had none of them to climb, but the finest kind of road. In the Pass too, we had plenty of snow, though it was only in spots, on the north sides of the hills. Before we came to Independence Rock, we found we were bound to double teams. We travelled on with no great trouble until we got to Humboldts river, here again we found no grass for our stock, after we got within 70 miles of the sink, except at one place, about 10 miles above the sink; from here to Carson's river, a distance of 55 miles, we had not a sprig of grass, and all the water as salt as brine itself. But after crossing the desert we had good grass and water to the mountains. We thought we had seen the elephant but were mistaken. But at the mountain we saw him, good! A Canon of five miles, the worst roads ever man took wagons over – if you would know what sort of road this is, just imagine you see five miles of road strewed with stones, varying in size from a whiskey barrel to that of a hogshead – the wagons having to run over these by more short turns than man ever saw – after you have made it out as bad as you think it could be, then just think it is three times as bad, and you will have a faint idea of how bad it is. All this we have overcome now, and are in the golden land, very well fixed.

To J. P. Taylor, Roanoke, Missouri, from his brother
Missouri *Statesman*, Feb. 15, 1850

The Toil of the Overland Journey

Oct. 21, 1849

The toil and privations of the journey are so far beyond the bounds of reason (were they truly depicted) that a sufficient quantity of credence would no more be attributed by rational minds, than would be given the grossest fiction. In fine the trip is one that I never expect to make again, while there is one vessel on old ocean. Well, we left the State on the 1st of May and on the 8th of September we drove into the gold diggings 50 miles east of Sutter's fort, and never was I as glad to see any place on earth as I was to see this filthy spot.

C. R. School, formerly of Calloway Co., to his father
Missouri *Statesman*, Feb. 15, 1850

IV. REPORTS AND ADVICE FROM THE FORTY-NINERS TO THOSE AT HOME

$1 a Day in New York is Better than $10 in the Mines

Wood Mines, July 30, 1849

We arrived here on Thursday evening . . . I went down into the creek, picked out a place, off coat, and went to work. When we had dug about three feet down a man came along who offered us an ounce for our place. We took it and looked for another. We worked until last night, then weighed our earnings, and found we had $5.04 after working a day and a half. Digging does not pay here. There are about 1,000 Chilians and Mexicans in this place who are satisfied with from three to five dollars a day, and spend it all gambling at night. They are the only men making money here. To-morrow we go to another digging . . . The work is very hard. $1 per day in New York is better than $10 here.

New York *Tribune*, quoted by St. Joseph
Adventure, Nov. 23, 1849

Fortunes are not Made through Mining Gold

Sacramento City, Aug. 7, 1849

There are quantities of dust and lumps of coin here, but the matter that interests me most is to get hold of it . . . The miners, from the best information I can get, realize from 1 to 4 ounces per day; I have been told by a great many that they are very well satisfied at an average of an ounce per day. I have been here long enough to find out that the big fortunes made here, or at least the most, have been made by speculating most in town lots. Lots that a year or two since perhaps would not have sold at any price, are now worth from 1,000 to $10,000. I think most of the people here have been in the mines and worked a while; a great many of them get their start in that way and then set up a dram shop and provision store . . .

D. H. Moss, to his relatives
Paris (Missouri) *Mercury*, quoted by
St. Joseph *Adventure*, Nov. 2, 1849

A Newly-Arrived Emigrant Gives Mining Prospects

Colloma, Aug. 15, 1849

Of California I can hardly risk an opinion as yet [having just arrived two days ago]: in some respects it equals my expectations, in others is far inferior. For the present I will only give a few facts and withhold final judgment till I make more observations. Wages are worth for a common hand $10 and found, everywhere, mechanics generally one oz. (or $16) also found. In fact few will work for any stated wages, preferring the chances of the mines. The choice spots in the mines are much culled over (that is those on the surface for nobody digs deep here) but there is still gold and very much of it, and will be for ages, but labor is required to get it, and the work is very hard I assure you. In addition the mercury has ranged at noon in the shade in my tent at from 97 to 108 though from the constant air stirring I have not suffered as much from heat as in Missouri. Miners make I suppose near an oz. and upwards daily, and Maj. Marney informs me his hands make $1 per hour all the time they work. I have not yet operated in the mines and can speak more definitely when I do: reports are very contradictory, We have seen pieces ranging from the smallest particle up to $100 in value, and it is found not only in the beds of rivers and ravines but almost all over the country, chiefly however in the vicinity of ledges of black slate, and white quartz, which cross out at an angle of near 90 deg. to the S. W. The mere finding of gold mines here is nothing, but the labor of getting it is the grand item, therefore scientific geologists are worthless and laughed at, many are desponding and going off and many more wish themselves away . . . On the other hand thousands are in high spirits and are making money fast. Any laboring and healthy man may make money and may make it fast, but the golden dreams of fortunes picked up in a day soon vanish away.

"Old Boone"
Alta California, quoted by Missouri
Statesman, Oct. 26, 1849

There are Fortunes to be Made in California

Sacramento City, Aug. 17, 1849

California is all that it has been represented, and more too if reports are true, which I have no reason to dispute. Gold does exist in the greatest abundance here, and if a man will use industry and economy there is nothing to keep him from making a fortune in a few years at most. Common workmen are worth from $10 to $16 per day and scarce at that. The miners make from $16 to $50 per day and sometimes much more. The gold region has no bounds as I can learn, being long enough and rich enough for all that will migrate here for the gathering of gold and perhaps as many more.

Wm. L. Schooling
Missouri *Statesman*, Sept. 26, 1849

No Exaggeration, There's Gold

Sutter's Mill, Aug. 20, 1849

We arrived here on the 14th inst., making the trip in the short time of ninety-six days . . . The richness of the mines has not been exaggerated. We find upon examination that there are quantities of gold here, but it requires hard labor to extract it. The common amount of gold for one man to take from the mines by a day's labor, is an ounce; but frequently a man finds from four to six ounces in a day's washing.

Labor is worth an ounce a day and hands are scarce at that price, they say they would rather perform harder work in the mines and run chances of striking a lead and making a fortune than to accept of a stated salary . . .

W. B. Royall
Missouri *Statesman*, Oct. 26, 1849

Some Make a Fortune in Three Years

Feather River, Sept. 29, 1849

Now I will tell you what we have done since we got here; we have worked eight days and have made $16,000 – we have had extremely good luck, are on the Feather River and pretty well up at its head, about 600 miles from Sacramento City. This is no farming country . . . I would not bring a family here for any consideration, for many reasons too tedious to mention, but you will do well to leave your family and come yourself, for I believe there is a fortune for everyone who will come and get it . . . We are at work on the bank of the River, and where we board is five miles from here, as we could not get it nearer. Board is worth $10 a day, and rough at that. There are a great many in the gold diggings at work, some are making fortunes and some are spending fortunes. A man that will half work can make a great fortune in three years. The largest lump we have got weighs 2 oz. but there are two men at work near us, that have got a piece that weighed 5 oz., and that is the largest lump I have seen, though I have heard of larger ones. My advice to you is to come and make your fortune while it is plenty, but leave your family.

Robert and Charles Springer to S. W. Springer,
Buchanan County, Missouri
St. Joseph *Adventure*, Feb. 1, 1850

There's Gold, But . . .

Sacramento City, Oct. 14, 1849

Now for the gold. I must admit that I am agreeably disappointed. As for the gold, there is no scarcity of the article here. I only judge from what I have seen myself. It is enough for me to say that there will be gold in California as long as there is a drop of water in the Mississippi river. The Newspaper accounts which you have seen from this place, is as near the truth as

I can state the facts myself; although a man can't make as much here now in a day as he could when the gold was first discovered, for all a man had to do last fall and winter here, to make from $200 to $400 per day, was to walk up and down the creeks, kanyons [sic] and ravines, and pick up lumps that weighed from one dollar to one hundred and fifty dollars. Some man found a lump last fall that weighed nine pounds. But the scale has changed now. At this day, all the gold a man gets here, he gets by hard licks.

I don't advise any man to come to California that is making a good living in Missouri, and doing pretty well.

James A. Douglass, formerly of Howard
County, Missouri
Missouri *Statesman*, Mar. 1, 1850

I Would Say to All: Stay Home

Oct. 15, 1849

There is gold here, but it is the hardest work for a man to get hold of it that you have ever saw; and the privations that he undergoes for want of provisions and working in the water all day are extreme. California is a country that I could not be induced to remain in under any circumstances. Thousands are leaving daily. There are too many persons here to prosper. The country is crowded on every branch and creek. It is a very hot and dry country. The last rain I have seen fall, was at Fort Hall on the 2nd July. The dust is very deep and water bad. No one expects to remain here long . . . A great many are sick and dying; and I would say to all who are doing anything at home, to remain there, especially old men and families.

John Crigler, formerly of Howard County,
Missouri, to his father
Missouri *Statesman*, Feb. 15, 1850

The Mines Are Indeed Inexhaustible

Dry Digginsville, California
Oct. 16, 1849

I have now been in California long enough to say that the reports I have seen published, as it relates to the mineral wealth of this country, are all true. The mines are indeed inexhaustible, but whether fortunes can be made here, in the future, as easily as they have been and are now being made, is a matter of some doubt. Sixteen dollars is considered a tolerable fair estimate of one days labor, but there are many men who make less.

We have been here about two months and some of our company have already dug from the mines fifteen or sixteen hundred dollars.

I expect to remain here about a year longer, and then I shall return home, I hope compensated for the hardships I have endured, for I think if one cannot make money here he had as well "hang up his fiddle"; he cannot succeed anywhere.

Wm. B. Royall
Missouri *Statesman*, Jan. 4, 1850

There's Gold, But Stay Home With Your Friends

Oct. 21, 1849

My expectations were more than realized in regard to the vast quantity of gold contained in the western declivity of the Sierra mountains. The mines are certainly inexhaustible; and my impression is from what I have seen, that they will be worked until the cycle of ages shall cease to roll. I am satisfied that ten months of labor will pay me well for my time and expenses: but for the trouble and vexation of spirit which a man has to undergo, money is no compensation.

A few individuals are making immense fortunes here; but the greater portion of people who come to this country for the purpose of mining will never be benefitted by the trip, unless they stay 5 or 6 years and there will be but few who will do that; for most every man you converse with here says he will return home as soon as he gets money enough to bear his expenses. If anyone should ask my advice about coming here tell them to stay where they are; for they are not aware of the vast wealth to be acquired in Missouri, until they leave there and then they will feel the effects occasioned by the loss of society so strong, that it will be one chance in a hundred if they don't wish they were back a thousand times before they are here twelve months.

C. R. Scholl, formerly of Calloway County,
to his father
Missouri *Statesman*, Feb. 15, 1850

California – A Great Country for Money

Dry Diggings City, Oct. 25, 1849

This is certainly a great country for money; and if a man has his health, it is his own fault if his pockets are not pretty well lined in a short time after his arrival here. Every miner stands a chance of finding a nice lump once in a while. The stories which I heard before leaving the Mississippi Valley, regarding the richness of the gold mines of the country, were not far from the truth. I then heard of men obtaining fortunes in a few days. I see the same now. At home I only heard of the lucky ones, and of course did not form a just conception of how matters stood with the great mass. Now, I see that a man may stay here two or three years and at the end of that time, notwithstanding he may have sunk a great many holes and washed a vast deal of dirt, have only three or four thousand dollars; but such a man generally knows how he came by his dust, and does not foolishly feed it to hungry sharks; he is pretty sure to take it home with him.

We hear stories every day. I was told that a friend of mine has started for St. Louis, within a few weeks with $100,000 worth of dust, and that Col. Fremont took $90,000 to San Francisco the other day.

"Mifflin" to the St. Louis *Reveille*,
quoted by St. Joseph *Adventure*,
Feb. 8, 1850

Silence is Golden in the Mines

Sacramento City, Nov. 18, 1849

I questioned several miners about their profits, but could get no satisfactory answer. Singularly enough, it is almost impossible to learn from the miners themselves, unless one happens to be a near acquaintance, the amount of their gains. If unlucky, they dislike to confess it; if the contrary, they have good reason for keeping it secret. When most complaining, they may be most successful. I heard of one, who, after digging fruitlessly for a week, came suddenly on a pocket, containing about three hundred dollars. Seeing a friend approaching he hastily filled it up with stone, and began grubbing in the top soil. "Well, what luck?" inquired his friend. "Not a damned cent," was the answer, given with mock despondency, while the pale and stamering [sic] voice betrayed the cheat at once. Nobody believes you are not a gold hunter. He must be a fool, they think, who would go to the mountains for any other purpose. The questions invariably asked me are: "Where have you been digging?" and "where do you winter?" If I speak of going home soon, the expression is: "Well I s'spose you've got your pile," or "You've been lucky in your prospecting, to get off so soon."

Leaving Amador's Creek, a walk of seven miles took me to Dry Creek, where I found a population of from two to three hundred, established for the winter. The village was laid out with some regularity, and had taverns, store, butchers' shops and monte tables. The digging was going on briskly, and averaged a good return. The best I could hear of was $114 in two days, contrasted with which were the stories of several who had got nothing but the fever and ague for their pains.

"B. T."
New York *Tribune*, quoted by St. Joseph
Adventure, Feb. 15, 1850

Factual Report on the Productivity of the Mines

San Francisco, Nov. 29, 1849

I arrived here on the 30th of August last, after a passage of seven months and nine days, and proceeded to the mines almost immediately – only stopping here five days. On the 19th of September, my first effort at gold digging was made, in connection with one other person, who alone, operated with me for the few days employed in that capacity. For the sake of giving you correct information as to the operation in the mines, I give you the actual result of our labors for the time.

Sep. 19, 1st day,	$23.00	Oct. 8	$51.00
“ 20	37.00	“ 9	35.00
“ 21	28.00	“ 10	20.00
“ 22	23.00	“ 11	21.00
“ 24	22.00	“ 12	35.00
“ 25	24.00	“ 13	20.00
“ 26	28.00	“ 15	28.00
“ 27	26.50	“ 16	24.00
“ 28	20.00	“ 17	32.00
“ 29	28.00	“ 18	24.00
Oct. 1	21.50	“ 19 prospecting	1.50
“ 2	64.00	“ 22	20.00
“ 3	36.00	“ 24	32.50
“ 4	50.00	“ 25	30.50
“ 5	24.00	“ 26	24.00
“ 6	24.00	“ 27	20.00

This is believed to be near an average business in that portion of the mines where I was operating, on Towalamie [sic] river, Southern Division. Some persons in my immediate vicinity did much better, obtaining the ore by almost pounds, while the hole from which these figures are derived, paid only about an ounce per day. Others, however, equally as close, were unable to come to the ounce, which, throughout the district in which I operated, is considered an average yield. The gold in Towalamie is fine, both in quality and size, being scale gold but very pretty. The labor necessary to obtain it is necessarily fatiguing to the new beginner, and many become discouraged and give it up in despair. This, as you will see, was not the case with me, nor should it be with anyone. After a week spent in mining, the operator gets properly the hang of things, and the great fatigue vanishes . . . Many persons are returning home, tired of California. They have gotten well of the gold fever, but have been suddenly taken ill with home sick. Some of this class of persons are working their passages back, going before the mast, as firemen or stewards on the steamer, or in any other capacity in which they can get engagements. There are also many leaving who have made barely enough to take them home decently, having just found out that they have comfortable firesides at home, and enough to live on, with a good opportunity of doing well.

Suicides, caused by disappointment, are as numerous as the deaths resulting from natural causes.

Missouri *Republican*, quoted by Missouri
Statesman, Feb. 15, 1850

An Appraisal of the Gold Fields

You have already been apprised of the vast emigration that has, during the past year, poured into California, and, doubtless, to a considerable extent, of the success that has attended the miner, during the past season; but I will, nevertheless, venture to give you some of my views respecting this matter....

In the first place, I would state that there were probably, at the close of the season, (1st Nov.,) engaged in the different mines, about 40,000 persons, two-thirds of whom were engaged on the waters of the Sacramento, and one-third on those of the San Joaquin. That there is an immense amount of gold in all of them, none who have examined them carefully, can deny; but that it is also much more difficult to obtain than it was last season, is equally true; and the necessary consequence has been, that the price of labor has been depreciated in about an equal ratio. I observe that some of the letter writers make it a point to go on and give those remarkably fortunate instances that have occurred amongst the vast number of diggers, and say nothing of the average amount realized per day by the many thousands engaged in it, thus creating an undue excitement relative to the matter.

The price at which men can be employed to dig, is the best criterion of what is the average of the actual laborer – and that price ranges from $8 to $10 per day; and when I state that this is an average, I rather suspect myself of being over rather than under the mark.

The labor attending digging is of the most unpleasant character, and well calculated to try a man's constitution and see of what material it is composed. About the time the mines were first discovered, persons could, with but little labor, go along the margin of the rivers and make far more than they can now by laboring all day. The cream has been taken off, in short, yet there is an abundance of gold here and will be for years.

Missouri *Statesman*, March 1, 1850

A Sober Estimate of the Richness of the Mines

Sutter's Fort, Jan. 24, 1850

In regard to the extent and richness of the mines, there is but one opinion here, that is, that they are inexhaustible. Gold has been dug at various points, from King's River, far south of here, to Trinity River of the north. The question will be asked by many, What is the average amount daily made by the miners? Well, this is a hard question to answer, because there is much difference in the richness of mines at different points. Again, there are many inconsiderate youths who do . . . not give the exact truth of the matter. Still more, we have nothing like exact data to make estimates upon, from any source. But this much is quite certain, that there are a few, very few, who will work at a placer where they do not make more than half an ounce a day, especially in the real mining season. In the winter where they are quartered permanently, the case may be different in many instances. Every miner who has at least some experience, expects to make an ounce a day, or else he is not satisfied with his placer, and will prospect for a better one. Often, we hear of their making, on an average of several days, from $50 to $100 to $300 per day; in fact, there is no doubt but such is the case. Many have certainly, through this last year, made from $5,000 to $10,000; some of them have gone home. It must not be understood that all make this money by digging it. Most of those who have done so well, are those who brought capital with them, and went directly to trading in the mines or in the city of San Francisco or Sacramento, and other places. This gave them very great advantages, as everything sold at enormous profits, especially for the three months while the people were coming into the country. Some, by a *tap* at the monte bank, have made enough to go home, and some to boot; some, by a rare streak of good luck, have made $6,000 or $8,000 by digging and working. Since the first of November, the probability is, there has not been more than enough to pay the expense of living.

Provisions are, of course, much higher at the mines than in Sacramento; especially so, when the communications are cut off by rains. Such has been the case this winter. Flour and pork have been worth from $1.00 to $1.50 a pound, and other things in proportion. On an average, those who arrived here with no capital, but have been so fortunate as to enjoy good health, have probably made from $300 to $500. Those who have been sick even a part of the time, have made nothing. Those who have been sick all the time, and they are not a few, of course, are in debt to their friends and to strangers. Still, after all the disadvantages of the country, there is not another place on the face of the earth where a man can make money so fast as he can here, if he can keep his health. A man can make his ten dollars a day at almost any kind of work. A good cook in a public house gets from $200 to $300 per month; a boy, of eighteen years of age, in the Masonic and Odd Fellows' hospital, gets $150 per month.

"M. M." to Chambers and Knapp
Missouri *Republican*, Mar. 22, 1850

A Forty-Niner Advises on Outfitting

Sutter's Fort, Jan. 24, 1850

I do not advise any man to come, rich or poor, but to those who will come, I can give them a little good advice, especially if they come by land. Ox teams are allowed by all, or nearly so, to be much the surest teams. But the load and the wagon must be properly adjusted to the team. In the first place, no wagons should be taken on the road heavier than a light two horse wagon; it should be new, or as good as new, and made of the very best timber, especially the running gears. The spindles must be not too large, so as to turn stiffly on the axle; but when raised and well greased with black lead and tallow, you should be able to turn the wheels as you do the rim of a spinning wheel. The bed and tongue, and other parts, should be light in proportion. To each team there should be not less than four yoke of oxen: five are none too many; then if you lose one or two yoke you can still go on by lighting up a little, and safely get through. To each team there should be four hands, and not less than three – four are none too many, especially if one be sick. To each team 1,600 pounds are all that should be put on – your load should be weighed, every pound of it.

The oxen should not be less than five years old nor more than seven; in no case will four year old steers hold out, especially if not inured to work and well broke before you start. Your yokes should all, except those of the wheel cattle, be of the lightest material – lynn timber is the best – that for the wheel oxen may be made of maple and heavier than any other. The bows must not be too tight, if they are, your steers will be found to swell up as tight as a drum head. To each man 125 pounds of bacon and 125 pounds of flour is an abundance. One half of his bacon had better be in hams, for the sake of his health; it is much better to eat on the road. The emigrant ought to eat as little greasy food as possible to keep off the scurvy. Risen bread is much better than lard and saleratus biscuit. Yeast can be kept all the way out. The bread to be baked in the morning should be made up the night before, with yeast in it; if it sours too much, it can be corrected with a little saleratus. A plenty of pickles, ¼ bushel of onions, and ½ bushel of beans to each man, is not too much. Vinegar should be used every day.

Apple and peach fruit and rice are as useful articles of food as can possibly be taken on the road. To each man 80 pounds of rice, and three quarters of a bushel of apple or peach fruit, at least are necessary, being easily cooked, they are always convenient. Now, if the emigrant will use as little side bacon, and also very little hot lard and saleratus biscuit, and more of other articles, as above mentioned, I will warrant him to come through unscathed with scurvy. Bacon hams are much less objectionable than greasy sides. Very great errors were committed by the last emigration, in this respect. Still, every mess ought to have some side meat, to use for cooking fresh meat, and lard for bread. The way to cook beans on the road (the ship bean is the best) is to stew them; but they must be boiled in fresh water until they are soft, before any salt or bacon be put into them – otherwise they will not cook well; they ought to be very thoroughly cooked, and well seasoned with cayenne pepper – if so, they are the most wholesome food that can be used on the road. I have been very cautious about articles of diet, because scurvy has been the poison bane of the last emigration. Recollect therefore, that all articles I have mentioned are antscorbutics, except hot lard, bread, and greasy bacon.

M. M. to Chambers and Knapp
Missouri *Republican*, Mar. 22, 1850

Buy Mules and Long Wagons

Dry Diggings, Oct. 12, 1849

The trip across the plains is easy, provided the right preparation is made at home before starting; otherwise it is very hard. I would advise all who wish to come across the Plains to avoid a large mess; let it not exceed four men of known even temper. A heavy one-horse wagon, combining all the strength that can be given a vehicle of that size, is far preferable. To this hitch four good aged mules, (Mexican mules would be preferred by me,) having in addition two surplus ones to change as occasion may require. By having the wagon body lengthy a sufficient supply of provisions can be started with and, as the worst of the road is the other side of the South Pass from the States, the body can be shortened to a proper length and the wheels brought closer together. The load being much lightened, care taken to feed the animals on grass (for that is all they can get,) plentifully and often on the way, a vigilant watch kept to prevent Indian depredations, and I will venture to warrant the passage will be easy and safe. Some thousand of heavy wagons, with their cargoes thrown away, are being strewed over the Plains, their teams broken down. Some, being compelled to leave all behind, have had to take the road a-foot.

Simeon Switzler, to his son
Missouri *Statesman*, Jan. 25, 1850

An Emigrant Advises Light Wagons and Good Oxen

Weaverville, California, 50 miles
east of Sacramento City
Nov. 21, 1849

If any of my friends should wish to come out, I do not want them to be caught in the same snap I was. Tell them this: that if I were back and knew what I know now, I should get through in a great deal less time, with more ease to myself, and less trouble. I would join two others, and fit out as light as possible, a light wagon and no more provisions than would just last us through – everything light, save team, this I would have of the best kind of stock; a small rifle, if I brought any at all – no pistols, and but little powder and lead, not more than two pound each to the man, one first rate blanket coat, and another of the same, but of the short cut; bed clothing plenty, for nights are very cold. After you reach the mountain region frosts are nearly as regular as nights. Tell all that start to have good cattle at home and they will have good cattle on the road, this thing about small cattle standing the trip better than large ones, is all humbug, this was fairly tested this season . . . but be sure not to load the team (heavy) do not load them at all, have team enough to come right on without any draft.

To J. P. Taylor, Roanoke, Missouri,
from his brother
Missouri *Statesman*, Feb. 15, 1850

Mules Preferred

If I had the trip to go all over again, I would get me six mules, six years old, and put them to a two horse Yankee wagon, take just enough to come through with; and I would out travel all the ox teams one month. I would not put more than 1,000 lbs. in a wagon – two men to a wagon. But I never expect to cross the Plains again. The alkali water and streams on the route are enough to kill anyone, and many have found their lone home on the road.

John Crigler, formerly of Howard
County, Missouri, to his father
Missouri *Statesman*, Feb. 15, 1850

A Forty-Niner Advises on Overland Travel

Sutter's Fort, Jan. 24, 1850

In order for a gentleman to travel with any degree of quiet of mind, or satisfaction, certain conditions are necessary. The first of these are, that he has no joint stock mess to deal with – if he has, I can pity him, from sad experience. There should be but one owner of the team, wagon, and load, to each mess, because there must be one head person to direct the movements, who will feel his responsibility. Joint stock messes will not agree, and all such were broken up last year, their outfits, in most cases, wholly lost. A man, having his team, may take his men through by contract. As to the amount of money that is worth per man, I would say that it is worth $350, which is none too much if he do his equal share of duty on the road. This money, if not paid in advance, ought to be well secured to be paid in California. Many have lost in this way, by their men feeling so soon their independence after they are here. "White man mighty unsartain" on the road, and too often in California. It has been remarked by every observing man, that the disposition changes strangely on the road. If emigrants intend to make their transit across the mountains certain, they should cross the Missouri river, every one, by the twelfth day in May. If the grass is not sufficiently up, he must haul some corn for his team. Every mess should have a guide book, and the best are the Mormon books. The emigrants ought never to hurry their teams; they should be allowed to take their own gait. The travel should be slow for the first 600 miles, for your teams are not inured to travel, and, besides, they ought not to lose a pound of flesh, but should gain, for thus far there is good grass. After leaving Fort Laramie, it will often be necessary to make forced drives, or, rather, long drives, to reach grass and water. Bear in mind, you must not hurry your team, because you have a long march; but be diligent, lose no time, and you are safe.

Until the emigrant has got near the Big Sandy, he has no choice of roads. About ten miles from this river, the road forks – the left goes by Fort

Bridger, thence to Salt Lake – the right hand goes on to the Sublette cut-off. If the emigrant wishes to recruit his team, or change off some crippled stock, if he is wily, he may safely go by the Mormon city, and there recruit a week. There he can get fresh vegetables of every kind. If he takes the Sublette Cut-off, he should lay by one day at Big Sandy, to rest his team. He should leave this river at 3 to 4 o'clock P.M., and drive steadily all night; he should not stop more than twice – half an hour at a time. His team will travel briskly by night, and he must make the most of this time, because the next day he will have to travel very slow, for the steers will begin to flag early in the day, and you cannot reach Green River before 4 or 5 o'clock, P.M. (I did not until 7 o'clock).

The distance across the great Sublette Cut-off is much greater than the books tell you. Ware says it is 35 miles, but it has been measured by Road-ometers, and found to be 53 miles, to the first ferry, and 56 to the lower one. After leaving Green River the country is mountainous, over the Bear River mountains to Bear river. Here, in this valley, I found the best grass for stock I ever saw, and in greater abundance. The course along here is well watered. When the emigrant has got to where he will leave Bear river, and two or three miles this side, he comes to the Myers Cut-off, made this last year. The road is 80 miles nearer than to go by Fort Hall, and much the best road for grass and water . . .

Nothing more needs be said, as nothing of great importance will occur, until the emigrant has got low down on Humboldt river. When he has got to within about 70 miles of the sink of this river, he will come to the northern or Lawson route – (do not take this for it is 300 miles further than any other route.) Keep the old road to the sink, and about four or five miles this side. Here take the left, which is the Carson route, and much better than the old Truckey [sic] route, from all accounts that I have of it. I am persuaded that it is much the best. I came the Truckey [sic] route, crossing it 27 times in as many miles, and very bad crossings.

Having got the emigrant thus far, I deem him safe, in any season, giving him reasonable time.

"M. M." to Chambers and Knapp
Missouri *Republican*, Mar. 22, 1850

Fear for the Californians, 1850

St. Joseph, May 17, 1850

It has been a most difficult and trying season on the emigration this year: all their calculations failed them. Many poor men, having expeded [sic] most of their means in procuring an outfit and pushing off from their homes, in Iowa, Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri, in expectation of meeting with grass, at the usual time of the year, have been utterly ruined in consequence of the scarcity and high prices of every description of provender.

Those who have been unable to buy grain for their stock, have lost a considerable portion of it and others have been compelled to part with a portion of their outfit in order to keep the balance from starvation, thus greatly lessening their chances of crossing the mountains successfully. Every mode of travel that ever was invented since the departure of the Israelites, has been resorted to this year: many have taken it on foot, and you would be truly amused at the variety of vehicles presenting themselves to the eye of a stranger here. Very frequently I have met with the old-fashioned ox-cart, filled with Dutch women and children. I did not see, but I heard from a gentleman who did, that a lean but stalwart Scotchman had actually started, and intended to push through a wheel-barrow. Gripping the handles, and with a leather strap thrown over his shoulders to hold it up, he was making speed, with his load of provisions and implements, at the rate of twenty-five and thirty miles a day. When critisized, about the difficulty of holding back when going down a steep hill, he coolly responded, that on such occasions he usually put the horse before the barrow.

The impression prevails, and I believe it to be correct, that many of those who started first, will be the last to get in, on account of having worn down their stock at the start, without having provender to feed them. . . .

"Viator"

Weekly Missouri *Statesman,* May 24, 1850

What It Means To Be A Californian

By Marion Clawson*

I. MIGRATION TO CALIFORNIA, 1870 TO 1945

TYPICALLY, a Californian is one who, during his lifetime, has moved from his state of birth to California. As of 1945, to state it differently, approximately two out of every three people in California were born in some other locality—an overwhelming fact. If therefore we wish to know what it means to be a Californian, we must examine this shifting process whereby one area gives up some of its citizens to another. Only then, too, shall we be in a position to form an opinion as to the probable effect of so many migrants upon what might be called the character of the state. Former articles in this journal have discussed early migration to California, particularly in the period prior to 1870.[1] For this reason and because many of the statistics used here are rather incomplete for that earlier period, the present article will be concerned with migration to California since 1870. The treatment will necessarily be more or less statistical. The chief sources of information will be the Census, and only incidental reference will be made to the numerous contemporary articles on the subject.

MEANING AND MEASUREMENT OF MIGRATION

Any discussion of migration must first define a migrant. Shall all who come to California or to any other particular area be considered as migrants, regardless of the length of their stay or the age at which they come? If so, migration will obviously be large, because all tourists and other casual visitors will be included. If some limit on length of stay in California is imposed, shall it be a month, a year, or longer? While it might be argued that intention to remain should be a deciding factor, this obviously would be difficult of ascertainment. What about the children? Shall a new born babe be counted as a migrant if born a day before arrival in California, but be counted a native son if born the day after migration?

An enumeration of migration may be made in one of several ways. It might be possible to get statistics on the numbers of persons actually entering and leaving the state, so that gross in-movement, gross out-movement, and net movement could be ascertained. Such figures are not available. Another possibility is to count, at any given time, the number of persons in California who have moved here since some particular date. Such a procedure obviously misses a great many persons who have moved to the state since the previous count, and have either moved away or have died in the interim. The Census and other sources of statistics contain a record of migration only as of 1940, the Census then asking for the first time a question about residence at some prior date, namely 1935; but no record of intermediate moves – between 1935 and 1940 – was obtained. Sample censuses have been taken for certain areas in California (San Diego, Los Angeles, San Francisco, *etc.*) since 1940, and in some instances information was obtained on residence at some previous date, usually 1940.

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*The views expressed in this article are personal and do not necessarily reflect those of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. The assistance of C. N. Reynolds, Davis McEntire, and Sara Miles is acknowledged, none of whom, however, should be held accountable for any errors or viewpoints expressed herein.

With a wide variety of reasons behind this complex and continuous human process of in-coming and out-going, and with various means at hand for measuring it, several definitions of migration (or of a migrant) might be set up, with the result that for a particular study a given definition would be adequate. But as far as a simple, perfect, *complete* definition is concerned, one does not exist. Consequently in this article the meaning of the term "migration" will change as the kind of data used changes.

AMOUNT AND TIMING OF MIGRATION, 1870 TO 1940

If comparison is made with later migration to the state, the number of migrants to California in the thirty years from 1870 to 1900 may be said to have been small. In the 1870's, population in California had increased more than 50 per cent. Nearly half of this increase was from an excess of births over deaths. Of the remainder, more was due to immigration from foreign countries than to internal migration. In the following decade (the 1880's), the population increase was somewhat greater in absolute terms (that is, independent of other considerations) though it was smaller in relative terms. The excess of births over deaths was less than in the preceding decade, and internal migration had become greater than immigration from abroad. In the decade of the 1890's, population increase fell to a lower point than in any decade since 1870. Migration from abroad was particularly small, probably because of the economic depression in this country. But, beginning with 1900, population growth in California reached higher figures than in the three preceding decades (whether measured absolutely or relatively), the increase from 1900 to 1910 being 60 per cent of the whole population at the beginning of the decade. The excess of births over deaths was not greatly more than in either of the two preceding decades; but while migration from abroad was much greater, internal migration was more than three times as large as in any of the three preceding decades.

The pattern in each decade since 1910 has been essentially that of the decade from 1900 to 1910. In absolute terms, population has grown rapidly. The increase was roughly one million in each of the decades of the 1900's, the 1910's, and the 1930's, but was roughly two million in the decade of the 1920's. Though the decade of the 1940's is only half over, it appears not improbable that migration in this decade may reach two million. In each of these decades since 1900, the excess of births over deaths has been responsible, roughly, for 15 per cent of the increase. *The other 85 per cent has come from migration in one form or another.* In the decade immediately following 1900, a little more than half of the population increase was due to internal migration. By the decade of the 1930's this had risen to over 80 per cent. Migrants from foreign countries declined correspondingly in the same period.

The importance of migration, racially, socially, and economically, may be measured either in absolute terms or in relation to the number of persons already within the state. In many ways the latter is a more significant measure. An increase of 40 per cent in a decade may be equally significant racially, for example, whether the base population was a million at the beginning of the decade or whether it was five or ten million. Consequently it is worth while to examine the record of migration since 1870, in relation to the number of people already in California.*

For the decades of the 1870's and 1880's, the number of persons arriving annually averaged about 24 for each one thousand persons already in California. The average in the 1890's was much lower, only about 14. From later experience it appears highly probable that there were some years in the decade of the 1890's when little or no net migration to California occurred and when losses may have been possible. Evidence is available to indicate that migration is greater during periods of prosperity and less during periods of depression; and the 1890's are noted among economists for the depth and severity of their depression. On the other hand, the decade of the 1900's had a migration which averaged 40 persons annually for each one thousand persons already in California. This was a record migration rate for a decade – at least since 1870. During the period 1910–1920, however, migration was at a lower level than in the preceding decade. World War I did not foster a large migration, possibly because industry was relatively undeveloped then.

Beginning with 1920, the annual estimates of migration indicate extreme variation from year to year. The years 1920 and 1923, inclusive, each had a migration in excess of 50 persons per thousand already in California, and *in 1923 net migration reached the peak of 90 persons per thousand already in California.* We cannot, of course, be sure that this was a record, since comparable data are not available for earlier years, but it is not improbable that it was as high as in any year since 1870. During the latter half of the 1920's, net migration resumed about the same average level as in the decade preceding 1920.

In the early 1930's migration fell to a low point, due to the extreme economic depression and lack of opportunities for employment. It recovered somewhat by 1935, and was followed by two years of moderately high migration in 1936 and 1937. Nineteen thirty-eight was another year of low migration, followed by two years of only moderate increase. *The early war years of 1941 and 1942 are shown to be years of only moderate migration, compared to the population already in California.* Actually, of course, migration in absolute terms was high, but by this time California had reached such a large population that the same number of migrants no longer had the same relative effect as previously. The effects of migration during the present war were noticeable not so much because of the *relative* volume of migration as because of the circumstances existing in California at the time the migration occurred. The much larger relative migration of the early 1920's had been absorbed without serious difficulties, because at that time it was possible to construct additional housing facilities and in other ways to provide for the large net in-movement of migrants.

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*For decades prior to 1920, averages per decade exist but not for the individual years, and it is highly probable that there was wide annual variation. Beginning with 1920, however, it is possible to form some estimate of migration by years.

The relative importance of increase of births over deaths, of internal migration and of immigration in adding to the population of California, can be seen in Figure 1. Population at the beginning of each decade is shown in the lower part of the bar, the next segment indicates the increase of births over deaths, the third segment shows internal migration, and the top segment shows increase due to immigration. It can be seen readily from this figure that the excess of births over deaths was greatest, numerically, during the decade of the 1920's, and that immigration likewise reached its largest amount during this period. Relative to total increase in population, however, immigration from abroad was most important during the decade of 1900 to 1910. During the decade of the 1930's it declined to a very low point.

Numerous and diverse factors affect migration from one area to another. They have frequently been grouped together under two broad headings: the conditions attracting people to a new area and those tending to drive them away from the old area. Writers often refer to them as the "pull" and the "push." People may be *pulled* towards a new area because of the attractiveness of the opportunities, either economic or cultural, in the new location. Thus, the promise of better jobs in California has undoubtedly attracted thousands of people since the earliest time. People may be attracted by non-economic factors, such as the more desirable climate for which California is so well known. They may also be attracted by institutional, political, or other features of the new area. They may be *pushed*, on the other hand, or driven out of their present area of residence because of unfavorable factors, such as the great droughts of 1934 and 1936, which tended to force many people out of their former residence, particularly out of the so-called "dust bowl" area. But the forces "pushing" and "pulling" people are only relative. Moreover, the difficulties and cost of movement must be considered. As Stouffer expresses it: [2]

> "... there is no necessary relationship between mobility and distance. Instead, it introduces the concept of intervening opportunities. It proposes that the number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities."

This interesting and logical theory has been put to statistical tests by Bright and Thomas.[3] They find that interstate migration has in general been influenced both by the hope of opportunities at the end of the journey and by the finding of intervening opportunities, but that we must expect disturbances in this pattern because of the differences between the quality of the opportunities sought in California and those existing elsewhere. These investigators found that the number of persons moving to California was far greater than could be accounted for on the basis of Stouffer's theory of a mathematical relationship. In other words, they suggest that there is an explanation for migration to California in addition to the usual economic one. Opportunities sought in the Northeast, Northwest and Middle West, they think, have been primarily economic in character and are to be found on farms or in industry; but, while opportunities in California must also provide a living to the bulk of migrants (otherwise settlement of the area would have been impossible), they are of the opinion that an important part of the migration to California has been of a pleasure-seeking rather than of a primarily economic character and has been set in motion more by climate and legend than by superior job opportunities.

> "Insofar as this is true," they say, "we are dealing with noncompetitive opportunities in the intervening states and in California. The extent to which interstate migrants who have sought this state as destination have proceeded in stages, taking advantage of the intervening opportunities in their progress across the country, or the extent to which they have proceeded directly towards this goal, 'forsaking all others,' simply can not be determined from the data at hand."

This study provides statistical confirmation of the frequent statement that migration to California is influenced by factors in addition to the strictly economic ones.

ORIGIN OF MIGRANTS

Precise data on the origin of migrants are lacking and must be deduced from other facts, particularly from information on the state of birth of each person. Although it is possible to know at each Census period the number of persons in California who were born in Massachusetts, Illinois, or any other state, it is not possible to know when and at what age they came to California nor what intermediate stops they may have made. Thus, an elderly man born in Illinois, living nearly all of his life in Iowa, and moving to California as an old man will be classed as having come from Illinois. Likewise, a small child born in Illinois and moving directly to California will be classed as having been born in Illinois.

It is possible to make further analyses of these state-of-birth data. Thus, if the 1930 Census showed 100,000 persons as having been born in Illinois but at the time of the Census residing in California, whereas the 1920 Census had shown only 75,000 California residents as having been born in Illinois, we know that between those two Census dates there had been a net movement of Illinois-born persons to California sufficient to have offset all deaths and out-migration of earlier Illinois births and to provide an additional 25,000 such persons. We do not know, however, by what intermediate stages these people may have come to California.

The net change in number of persons living in California with specified regional birth places, shows that for the 1870–1880 decade the New England and Middle Atlantic states contributed more than any other region and over one-third of the total. Less than 10 per cent came from the South, and most of these came from the Southeast rather than from the Southwest. In the next decade, the net change in number of persons was greater from the East North-Central states than from any other region, and the New England and Middle Atlantic region had fallen to third place. In tracing the change from decade to decade, it is evident that *the origin of migrants to California has gradually shifted westward and to some extent southward.* By the decade of the 1920's the region of greatest origin was the West North-Central states – that group of states lying west of the Mississippi River but east of the Rocky Mountains. The next largest region was the Mountain and Pacific states. The West South-Central states had come into greater importance in this decade but were still fourth in importance. Unfortunately, data on state of birth are not yet available for the 1940 Census, so that it is impossible to make this comparison for the decade of the 1930's. If such a comparison could be made, it would be evident that the Southwest, particularly Oklahoma, Texas, and Arkansas, had contributed much more heavily to the migration to California than in earlier decades.

The source of immigrants (*i. e.*, from foreign lands) who have come to California has also varied over the decades. Much of the early immigration came from northern and western Europe on the one hand, and from Asia on the other. In more recent decades, the southern, central, and eastern parts of Europe have been much more important as sources, as have also the Latin-American countries, including primarily Mexico.

These same data are shown graphically in Figures 2 to 5 inclusive.[4] The decade of the 1880's fairly well represents the three decades prior to 1900. The number of migrants into California from other parts of the United

States was approximately 125,000, in contrast with approximately 73,000 coming from abroad. In that year, Illinois was the state of greatest contribution to the migration stream, followed closely by Ohio, New York, Iowa, and Missouri. In the preceding decade, New York had been in first place, followed by Illinois and Missouri. Only a few persons came from the South and Southwest. Figure 3 shows the migration during the decade of 1900–1910, the first decade of a really large migration to California. In this decade there were over 400,000 persons moving westward within the country and over 200,000 immigrants from abroad. Illinois was still first in its contribution to migration, but Missouri had displaced Ohio which thereupon became third. More important than New York or Pennsylvania were Ohio and Iowa. Michigan, Indiana, and Kansas had come forward as important areas of origin. The South was still a relatively unimportant source. Though the numbers were small, there was far more migration from other western states to California than had been apparent twenty years earlier.

The decade of the 1920's, illustrated in Figure 4, shows migration at its peak. That year nearly a million and a quarter persons moved to California from other states of the Union, and over three hundred thousand immigrants came from other countries. Illinois was still first as a source of migrants and Missouri was still second; but Texas had come into third place, Iowa was fourth, and Kansas was fifth. Far down the line were some of the earlier major sources – New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio; such states as Minnesota and Oklahoma had passed them up. The number of persons coming from the Southeast was still very small. The number from the mountain states and other Pacific Coast states was relatively small, but far larger than in any preceding decade.

As indicated earlier, information on migration as such (that is, an actual count of migrants rather than an estimate based on state of birth), was first available for the period from 1935 to 1940. While these data cover only a five year period and in other ways are not directly comparable with the estimates in Figures 2 to 4 inclusive, they are sufficiently comparable to provide some interesting contrasts. Most of the migration in the decade of the 1930's occurred after 1935, so that migration for the 1935–1940 period, while less than for the entire decade of the 1930's, is nevertheless not so much less as to lose comparability entirely. The number of migrants to California, originating elsewhere within the United States during the 1935–1940 period, was about two-thirds as many as originated within the United States in the decade of 1920. The number of immigrants from foreign countries, however, was only one-sixth as large. *For the period 1935 to 1940, a sharp difference in origin from the earlier decade is apparent* (Figure 5). The state now contributing most to the stream of migration is Oklahoma, followed in order by Texas, Missouri, and Illinois. It is thus evident that there is some statistical basis for the term "Okies." Other states west of the Mississippi were important contributors to the stream of migration also, but states east of the Mississippi, with the exception of Illinois, were much less important. New York maintained its migration to California at approximately the same absolute level. Migration from elsewhere in the west to California was also larger than in earlier periods, particularly in comparison with the total volume of migration.

These data and charts present a striking and generally accurate record of the origin of migration to California. *Particularly noteworthy is the shift in major origin, (1) from foreign countries to the United States; and (2) within the United States from East to West and to some extent from North to South.* The Census region of the West South-Central states including Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana, has come to be the major region of origin for migrants to California. This is in sharp contrast with the period of seventy years ago when the chief region of origin was New England and the Middle Atlantic states. The character and culture of the people now moving to California are considerably different from what they once were.

AGE AND SEX OF MIGRANTS

As far as their sex and age are concerned, migrants are not a cross section of the area which they leave. In general, young adults tend to move more freely than do older people or children. Likewise, men tend to move more rapidly than women. These statements can be illustrated statistically. Though data are lacking, it seems quite probable that unmarried people move more readily than do married ones, and that of the married ones those without families move more readily than those with families. In these and in other respects migrants are a selected group of the total population. The importance of this factor will be discussed in more detail later. For the present we will give some data showing the age and sex of migrants to California.

In the decade of the 1880's more than forty per cent of the migrants to California were in the 20 to 29 years-of-age group; in contrast with this, less than 20 per cent of the already-resident Californians were in that age-class by the end of the decade. The percentage of migrants and of older residents with ages of 10 to 19 and 30 to 39 years remained approximately the same. In the older brackets, however, migrants during the decade of the 1880's were far less important, relatively, than were the older residents in California. *These data illustrate strikingly the tendency of the migrants towards a younger age than the population into which they moved.* Moreover, even this latter, already-resident population was relatively young, because of the influence of earlier migration. The same general relationship held for each of the four following decades, though scarcely quite as strikingly as for the decade of the 1880's.

In the 1890's, migration was at a relatively low point, as previously indicated. Such migration as there was, however, was predominantly between 10 and 29 years of age. As one progresses from 1880 to 1930, there is evidence of a gradual shift in the stream of migration to somewhat older age groups and to an age composition of migrants somewhat more nearly resembling that of the resident population. Even in the decade of the 1920's, however, migrants were more important relatively in the 20 to 39 year age-group than were residents in California at the beginning of the decade, whereas, in the groups over 50 years of age, residents were much more important than migrants. These data indicate that although migration of elderly people has been an important factor financially and sociologically, *nevertheless in absolute numbers the older people have always been a minor part of the total migration to California.* This statement may appear in contradiction to a widely held belief that migrants to California are predominantly elderly people. While there are important numbers of older people who migrate to California, their total is of less importance than the younger age-group. However, the tendency of older people to congregate in certain areas, and their frequent habit of living upon income from investments in other areas, make this group of greater significance than their numbers alone would indicate.

The men who have migrated to California have generally been younger than the women. Children who migrate as part of families and are yet dependent upon their parents for living are in nearly equal proportion as between girls and boys. However, as soon as young people reach the self-supporting stage, the young men tend to move much more commonly than do the young women. This undoubtedly reflects the importance of family ties and of a certain type of double standard, particularly in the earlier period when young women were expected to remain in the home until married. Opportunities for employment were relatively poor. Thus, in the decade of the 1880's there was a somewhat larger proportion of women than men in the 10 to 19 year age-group. In the 20 to 29 year age-group, however, the proportion of men was far greater. In the older age groups there was a curious reversal of this relationship. There were four times as many women over 50 who migrated to California as there were men over 50 who migrated. This same general relationship held during the 1890's. After 1900 there was a greater proportion of men than women in the 20 to 39 year age-groups, but the differences were not so striking as earlier nor was the contrast between women and men so great in the group over 50 years. In each succeeding decade, the difference in age distribution between women and men has gradually lessened. However, in every decade the proportion of women over 50 who have migrated to California has consistently been greater than the proportion of men over 50; and in the age group 20 to 29, the proportion of men has consistently been greater than the proportion of women. In each of the other age-groups, there have been one or more decades in which the relationship has been reversed from the usual one.

The records thus indicate rather clearly *that the migrants to California have been younger than the people already living here; and that the men who have migrated to the state have in general been younger than the women.* It should particularly be noted that the age composition of the people in California at any given time is abnormal because of earlier migration. This point will be explored more fully later. However, comparisons between migrants and residents at the beginning of a decade should take full account of this factor.

In absolute numbers, the migration of men has generally been greater than that of women. In the decade of the 1880's, nearly 50 per cent more men than women came to California. In the decade of the 1890's, however, there were slightly more women than men. In the decade following 1900, the number of men was again nearly 50 per cent greater than the number of women, but in the following decade the numbers were again approximately equal. In the 1920's somewhat more men than women came to California, but the difference, while substantial, was *proportionately* less than in the decade of the 1880's or in the decade following 1900.

Summarizing thus far: Inasmuch as two out of every three people, now in California, have migrated to the state at some time, it is obvious that migration has been a dominant factor in the growth and present character of the population. Data have been presented on the amount and timing of migration, on the origin of migrants, and upon the age and sex of the migrants. It has necessarily been rather heavily statistical. With these data as a background, the remainder of the article will consider the effect which this migration has had upon the present-day population in California.

II. EFFECTS OF MIGRATION UPON PRESENT-DAY CALIFORNIA POPULATION

AGE DISTRIBUTION

It was said above that the age distribution of California's population today is abnormal; but to say that a thing is *abnormal* implies that there exists a standard by which to gauge what is really normal. In the case of the age distribution of population, this is not easy to specify. Two measures will be used in the discussion which follows: (1) the age distribution of the population in the United States as a whole; and (2) the age distribution which would prevail in California if present death rates were to continue indefinitely, so that ultimately the population became adjusted to these death rates.

The age distribution in the United States as a whole is in itself somewhat abnormal, if it is judged by the standard of a population which would finally result from the death and birth rates prevailing at any one time. Like any growing nation, our people have been somewhat younger than a more maturely settled population. However, the population of the United States does in many respects provide a standard by which to compare the population of any state or section of the country.

The relation of the distribution of ages in California to that in the United States as a whole, and the age distribution of California-born residents to all immigrants from earlier years, can be seen in Figure 6. This figure is built up from the state-of-birth data discussed previously. For the United States as a whole, the graph shows nearly a pyramid — a pine-tree shaped object — with a broad base, tapering to a point at the older ages. It will be noticed that there is not complete uniformity from one age group to another; in particular, there are fewer people under 5 years than in the 5 to 9 year age-group. Obviously, in a stable population there would have to be more people in the younger group, and less in each successively older group, as death removed some of the persons. In a stable population, too, there would be approximately equal numbers of males and females. More males than females are born, but the death rate among males is higher than among females; in a stable population the numbers are exactly equal at some age. One test of the maturity of a population frequently applied is whether it has more females than males. A population which has not been growing rapidly by migration from other areas, and in which the death rates are relatively low, will in time come to have more females than males because of the greater longevity of females.

Though the pyramid or "pine tree" for the United States as a whole is not perfectly regular, nevertheless it approaches the regularity which would be found in a mature stable population. In contrast, California as a whole (Figure 6A) had a somewhat abnormal population distribution in 1930. There were more people in the middle age-group, from 20 to 45 years, than there were in the younger age-group. This, of course, is possible only if an area has been receiving large numbers of migrants, or if birth rates have declined drastically and suddenly in recent decades. Further light upon the age distribution of California's population in 1930 (Figure 6B) is found in comparing the age distribution of California-born residents with that of in-migrant residents: *the California-born residents seem to have been very heavily in the younger years*. Especially notable is the large number under ten years of age. These include, of course, the children of migrants as well as the children of earlier residents. There are relatively large numbers between 10 and 20 years of age. The whole pine tree is one of extreme pointedness, which could scarcely exist in any stable population unless the death rates were extremely high.

In contrast, the in-migrant residents of California in 1930 represent another extreme type of pine tree (Figure 6D). In this instance there are very few persons under 10 years and conspicuously large numbers from 20 to 50 years of age. The graph represents all migrants entering California during earlier periods who survived to 1930. The age distribution of migrants entering during any particular decade (The 1920's, the 1930's, etc.) is still more heavily loaded with those between 20 and 40 years of age.

The comparison of California's age distribution in 1940 with the United States age distribution in 1940, and with the age distribution that would result in California if the 1940 death rates continued indefinitely, is also revealing (Table 1). In the United States as a whole in 1940, 8.0 per cent of the population was under 5 years of age, whereas California in 1940 had only 6.6 per cent of its population in this class. Thus, in California in 1940 there were only 0.82 times as many people under 5 years of age, relative to the total population, as there were in the United States as a whole. Similar comparison can be made for each 5 year age-group up to 70 years. The group over 70 has been combined into one, although many of these people live beyond 75 years.

These comparisons show that California in 1940 had a relative deficit in each age group up to 25 years, having only about four-fifths as many people in those groups, relative to her total population, as was the case in the United States as a whole. This deficiency diminished rapidly, and from 25 years of age California had relatively more people in her population than did the United States as a whole. *In the ages from 25 to 50, the most productive ages of the normal person's life, California in 1940 had an excess of approximately 10 per cent compared with the United States.* Above 50 years, the excess was greater, approaching 20 per cent.

It is evident from the age distribution in Table 1 that in 1940 California had a relatively old population. Perhaps a more accurate way of expressing this is to say that California had a large deficit of young people. While it is true that the number of old people – if one uses 60, or any other similar age as a measure of "old" – was large compared with the United States as a whole, the numbers in these age brackets were not exceptionally large when compared with the number of persons in the more productive years, say from 20 or 25 to 50, 55, or 60. *The average age in California in 1940 was high, but it is high largely because the number of young people was relatively small, rather than because the number of old people was relatively large.*

In Table 1, likewise, California's age distribution in 1940 is contrasted with the age distribution that would result if California's 1940 death rates were to continue indefinitely. If this were to happen, the number of women of child-bearing ages and the birth rate in 1940 would be at least 10 per cent deficient in providing the number of births necessary to maintain a constant population. This deficiency might be made up by an increased birth rate. The method of calculating the ultimate age distribution, based upon 1940 death rates, is as follows:

Table 1. — Comparison of age distribution of population in California, 1940, in United States, 1940, and in California if 1940 death rates continued indefinitely

Age (years)	Percentage of total population			Ratio of actual age distribution in California 1940 to	
	United States, 1940	California		United States, 1940	California, if 1940 death rates continued indefinitely
		Actual, 1940	If 1940 death rates continued indefinitely[1]		
Under 5	8.0	6.6	7.9	.82	.84
5 – 9	8.1	6.3	7.7	.78	.82
10 – 14	8.9	6.9	7.6	.78	.91
15 – 19	9.4	7.9	7.5	.84	1.05
20 – 24	8.8	8.3	7.5	.94	1.11
25 – 29	8.4	8.9	7.4	1.06	1.20
30 – 34	7.8	8.4	7.3	1.08	1.15
35 – 39	7.2	8.1	7.1	1.13	1.14
40 – 44	6.7	7.5	7.0	1.12	1.07
45 – 49	6.3	7.0	6.7	1.11	1.04
50 – 54	5.5	6.4	6.3	1.16	1.01
55 – 59	4.4	5.3	5.8	1.20	.91
60 – 64	3.6	4.3	5.2	1.20	.83
65 – 69	2.9	3.3	4.4	1.14	.75
70 and over	4.0	4.7	4.6	1.17	1.02
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		

[1] Using death rates by age groups for 1940, as reported in Vital Statistics of the United States, 1940 (Bureau of the Census), the number of survivors from a given number of births was calculated. The number in each age bracket was summed, and the percentage calculated. The further assumption was made that the number of births from such a population would be exactly equal to the number required to maintain such a population. Using specific birth rates by age of mother for California in 1940 (for example, there were 134.2 births per 1,000 women 20-24 years of age in 1940, 109.3 births per 1,000 women 25-29 years of age, etc.), the number of births would not have been over 90 per cent of the required number.

Source: U. S. Census.

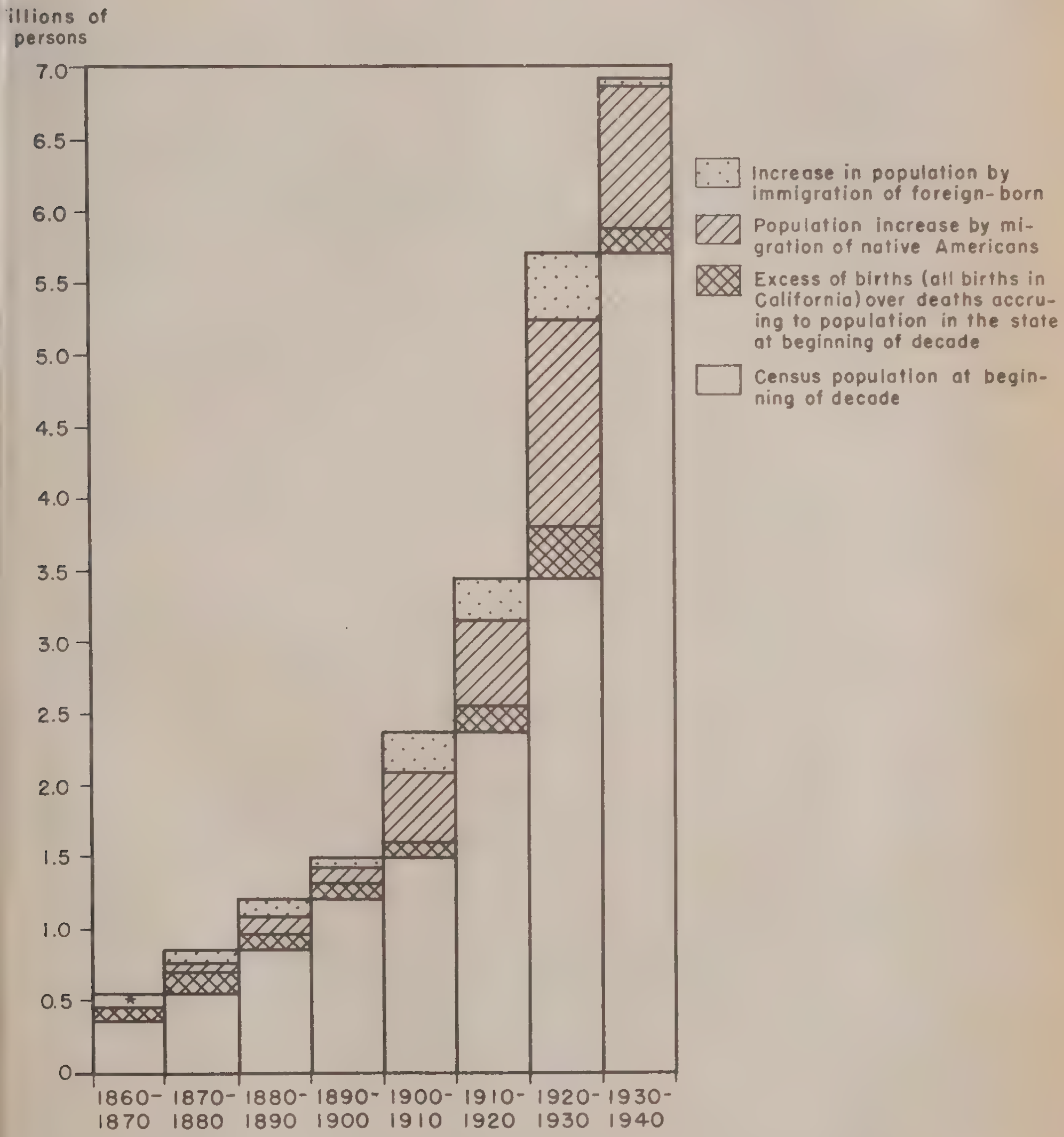
Out of 100,000 babies born in California in 1940, 95,190 would survive to the end of the first year, since the death rate in 1940 for children under 1 year was 48.1 per 1,000; 94,448 of these would survive to the end of 4 years, since the death rate of children 1 to 4 years was 2.6 per 1,000 in 1940 (this death rate is applied to the number at the beginning of the period, and must be multiplied by 3 since there are 3 years in the period). Continuing this process, the number of people in each age group is calculated, and a percentage age distribution derived thereby. Since death rates have been declining, the ultimate age distribution will reflect other death rates than those prevailing in 1940. Moreover, migration will continue to prevent attainment of this ultimate age distribution. It is useful, however, as measuring tendencies operative in 1940.

On this basis, California in 1940 can be seen to have had a deficit of young people, especially those under 10 years of age. This deficiency of young people in 1940 was somewhat less, in comparison with the actual age distribution in the United States as a whole in that year. In persons from 15 to 50 years of age, California had a surplus in 1940, compared with the age distribution which will result if her 1940 death rate continues indefinitely. This excess reached its highest point, at approximately 20 per cent, between the ages of 25 and 30 years. Most striking of all, however, is the fact that *in 1940 California had a relative deficiency of old people* – those between 55 and 70 years of age. If 1940 death rates were to continue a sufficient time to exert their full effect upon California's population, we would have far more *old* people in California than we had in 1940; and the relatively large numbers of people in our *middle age* groups, combined with the relatively low death rate which prevailed in California in 1940, would ultimately mean a much larger population in the older age group than actually prevailed in that year.

An abnormal age distribution such as existed in California in 1940 affects its economic and social life. In the first place, there are far fewer children to be educated and reared. California has an enviable record in provision of free public education for its young people – the record is not surpassed, or not greatly surpassed, by any state; but the problem of providing schools for this relatively small number of children is much simpler than if the proportion were large. In sharp contrast with California is a state like Alabama. In most of the southern states, the birth rate is high. Young people move out of these states when they reach adulthood. As a result the state has a very large burden in educating its relatively large number of young people. There are other factors in the southern states which are responsible for educational difficulties: incomes are relatively low, for example, and taxable wealth relatively small. However, the large numbers of young people requiring education is a major factor.

In the second place, California's old age problems are somewhat different

FIGURE 1— POPULATION GROWTH IN CALIFORNIA BY NATURAL INCREASE, INTERNAL MIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION OF FOREIGN BORN, BY DECADES, 1860—1940

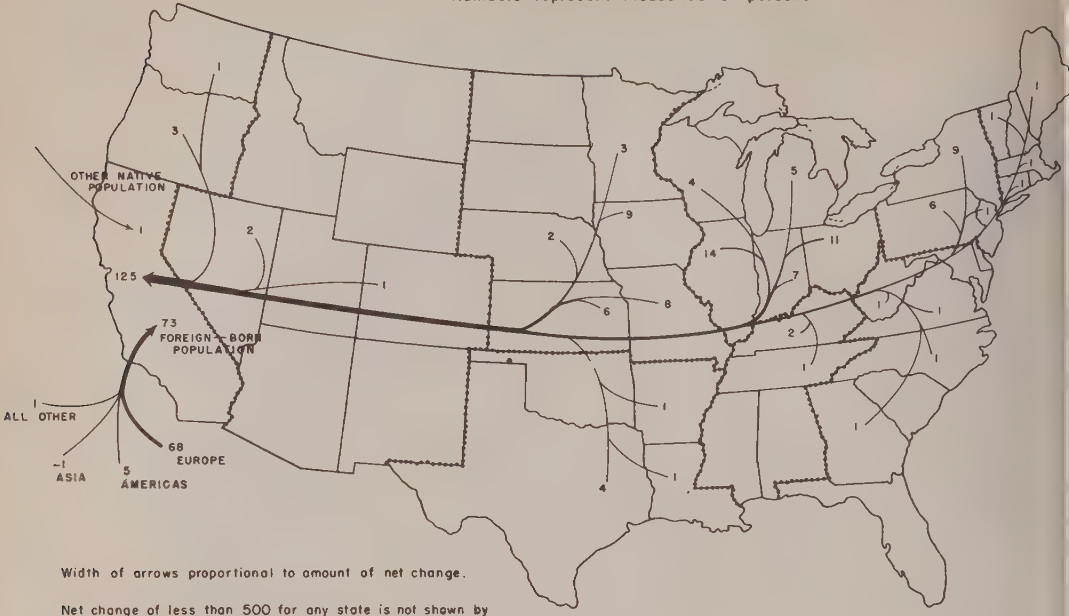


* Total migration only available prior to 1870.

Source: Reynolds, Charles N, and Miles, Sara. Migration, Population Committee for the Central Valley Project Studies. Statistical Memorandum No.6. 264 pp., illus. July 5, 1944 (Mimeographed.) See p. x.

Figure 2.- NET CHANGE IN NUMBER OF RESIDENTS OF CALIFORNIA BORN IN OTHER STATES, FOREIGN COUNTRIES, AND UNITED STATES POSSESSIONS, 1880—1890

Numbers represent thousands of persons

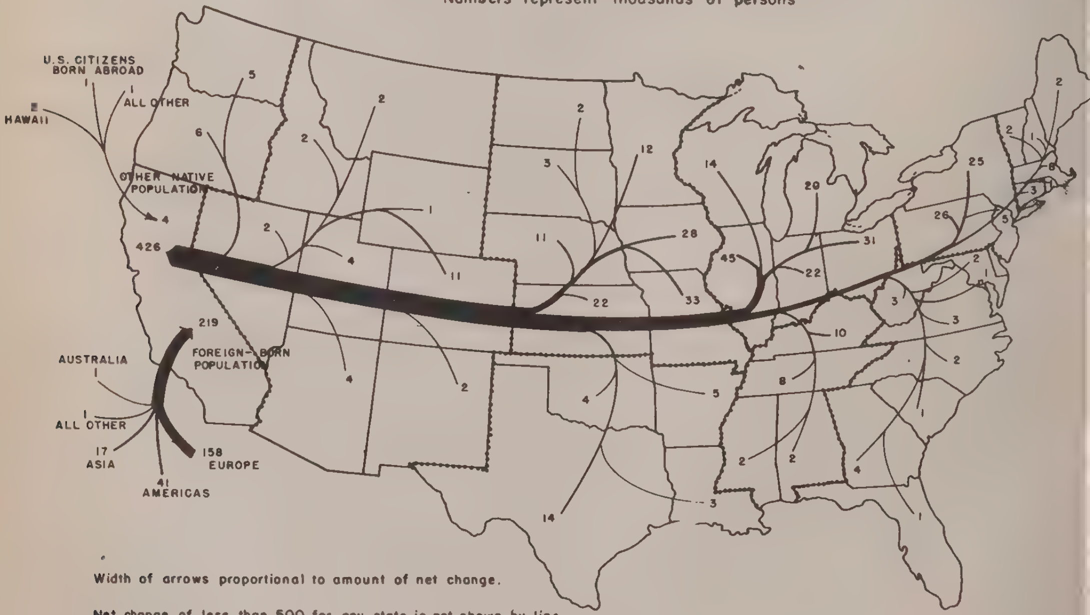

OTHER NATIVE POPULATION
1
125
73
FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION
1
ALL OTHER
-1
ASIA
5
AMERICAS
68
EUROPE
1
3
2
1
3
9
2
6
8
4
14
5
11
7
1
2
1
1
1
4
1
1
1
1
9
6
1
1
1
1

Width of arrows proportional to amount of net change.

Net change of less than 500 for any state is not shown by line and number. Total entering California includes 15,680 listed as "United States, state not reported" and 4,337 from states with a net change of less than 500.

Figure 3.- NET CHANGE IN NUMBER OF RESIDENTS OF CALIFORNIA BORN IN OTHER STATES, FOREIGN COUNTRIES, AND UNITED STATES POSSESSIONS, 1900—1910

Numbers represent thousands of persons

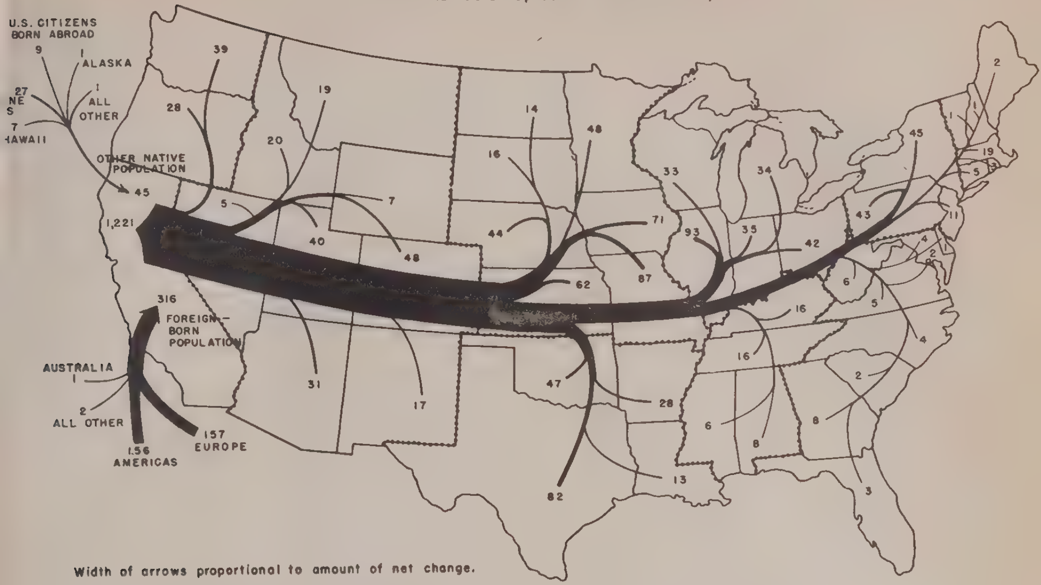

U.S. CITIZENS BORN ABROAD
1
1
ALL OTHER
2
HAWAII
OTHER NATIVE POPULATION
4
426
219
FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION
AUSTRALIA
1
1
ALL OTHER
17
ASIA
41
AMERICAS
158
EUROPE
5
6
2
2
2
4
1
11
4
2
2
3
12
11
28
22
33
14
45
20
22
31
10
8
5
4
14
3
2
2
4
1
1
2
3
3
2
1
2
26
25
2
1
6
3
5
2

Width of arrows proportional to amount of net change.

Net change of less than 500 for any state is not shown by line and number. Total entering California includes 6,994 listed as "United States, state not reported" and 432 from Delaware.

Figure 4.- NET CHANGE IN NUMBER OF RESIDENTS OF CALIFORNIA BORN IN OTHER STATES, FOREIGN COUNTRIES, AND UNITED STATES POSSESSIONS, 1920—1930

Numbers represent thousands of persons


U.S. CITIZENS BORN ABROAD
9
1
ALASKA
27
NE
S
1
ALL OTHER
7
HAWAII
OTHER NATIVE POPULATION
45
1,221
39
28
19
20
5
40
7
48
14
16
48
44
71
62
87
33
34
93
35
42
43
45
2
1
19
5
9
11
4
2
6
5
16
16
4
2
8
6
8
3
13
28
47
82
31
17
316
FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION
AUSTRALIA
1
2
ALL OTHER
157
EUROPE
1.56
AMERICAS

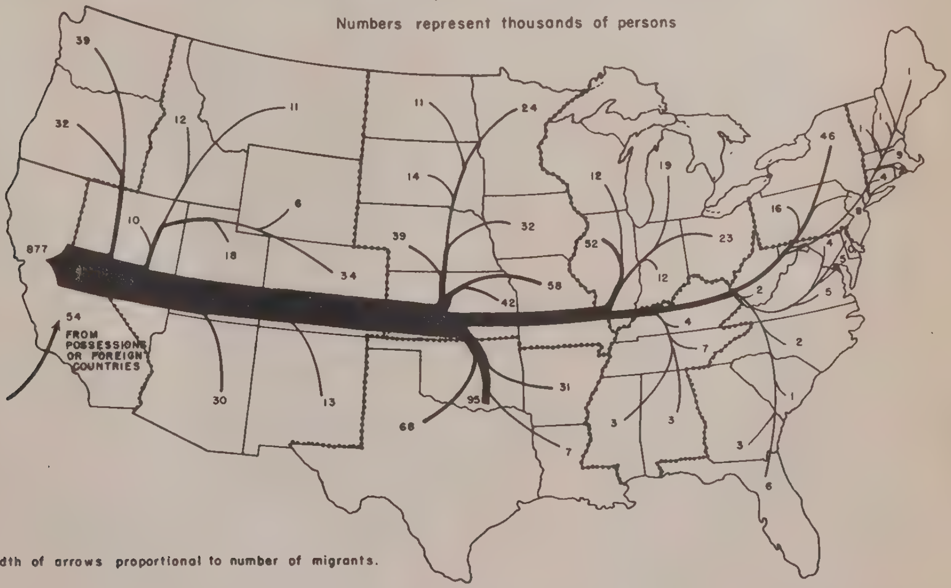
Width of arrows proportional to amount of net change.

Total entering California includes 7,896 listed as "United States, state not reported."

Figure 5.- MIGRATION TO CALIFORNIA FROM OTHER STATES AND OTHER COUNTRIES, 1935—1940

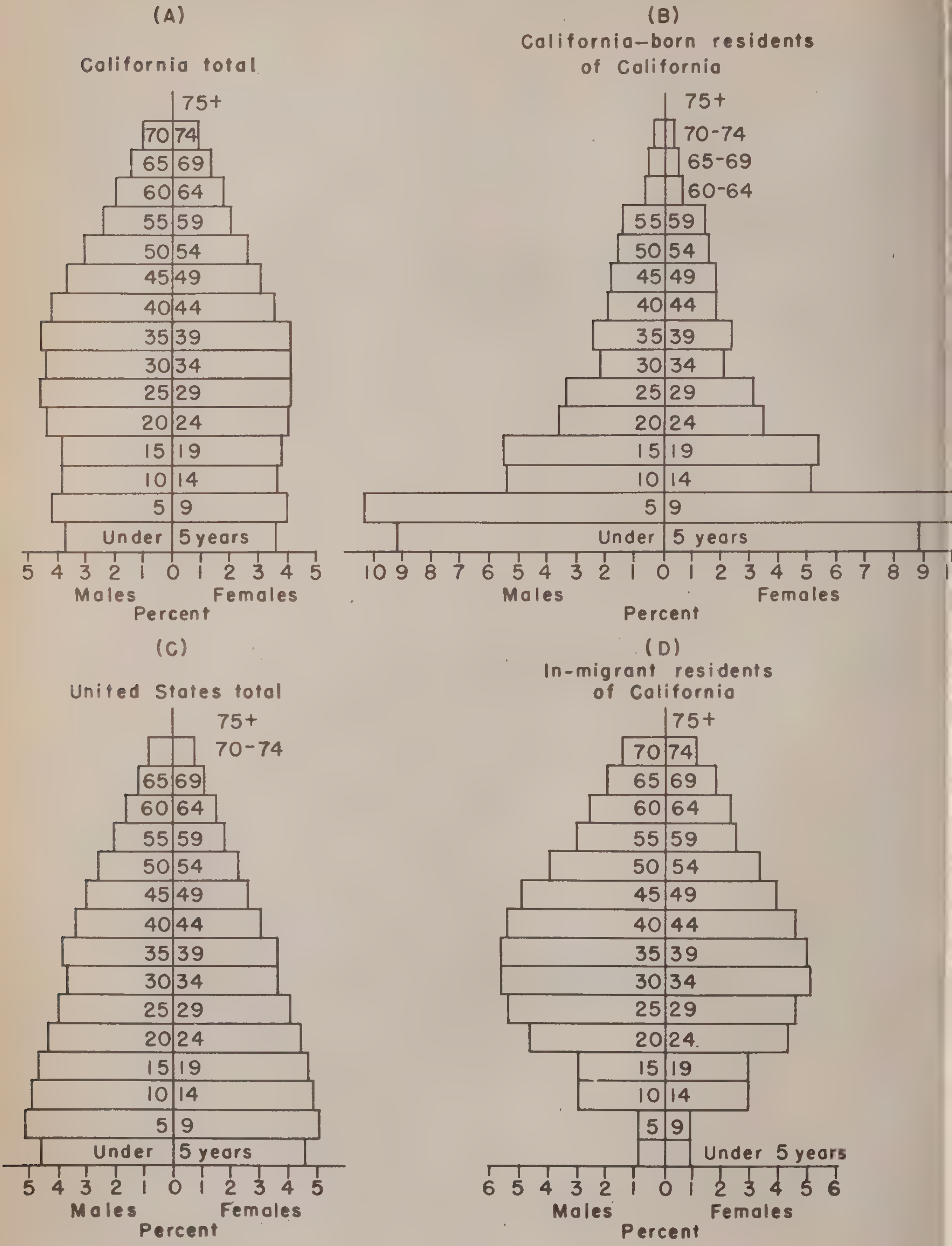
Based on comparison of place of residence in 1935 and in 1940

Numbers represent thousands of persons


39
32
12
11
11
24
14
10
18
6
34
39
32
58
42
12
19
52
23
12
46
16
1
1
9
4
8
4
2
5
4
7
2
1
3
3
3
6
31
95
68
7
30
13
877
54
FROM POSSESSIONS OR FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Width of arrows proportional to number of migrants.

FIGURE 6 - AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION OF UNITED STATES AND CALIFORNIA, 1930


(A) California total

(B) California-born residents of California

(C) United States total

(D) In-migrant residents of California

SOURCE: Reynolds, Charles N., and Miles, Sara. Migration, Population Committee for the Central Valley Project Studies. Statistical Memorandum No 6, 264 pp., illus. July 5, 1944 (Mimeographed.)

from those of the country as a whole. While it is true that the numbers of elderly people are rather large in proportion to the population, they are not unusually large in proportion to the number of people in the productive or working ages. Any system of old age assistance, built upon the 1940 age distribution in California, would not necessarily involve an unusually heavy burden upon the working people of the state, because the proportion of old people to working people is not much higher than the proportion for the country as a whole. *However, the situation at some later period, when the population age-distribution more nearly approaches that which will ultimately result if the 1940 death rate continues, will be much more difficult. Then there will be far more old people in proportion to the number of young people.*

A third result of the abnormal age distribution in California, as shown by the 1940 Census, is the productivity of its working classes. With such large numbers of its population in the productive-age years, there are far more workers in proportion to the total population than in the country as a whole. California has a per capita income 40 per cent above that for the nation as a whole, a relationship which has held remarkably close in times both of depression and prosperity. At least one-third of this differential is due to the age distribution in California. If our age distribution were like that for the country as a whole, and no other difference arose, per capita income in California would fall by an amount equal to a third of the difference between its present level and the level for the country as a whole.

The trend in death rates has been downward, so that people are now living to older ages than formerly. Thus the 1940 death rates are, in a sense, conservative in estimating the ultimate age distribution of California's population. Of course the probability of continued migration of relatively young people to California will tend to prevent the age distribution from reaching the level dictated by the death rates within the state; but the age distribution will gradually approach that level. This will mean more people in the younger ages, particularly under 20, fewer people in the middle ages from 20 to 50, and more people in the older ages from 50 to 70. *The results will be a greater burden for schooling, for rearing of young people, for medical care for the young; lower income because of fewer workers in productive years; and also a greater burden for old age assistance because of larger numbers of older persons.*

RACIAL AND CULTURAL GROUPS

Another effect of heavy migration to California, from so many lands and so many parts of the United States, has been the creation of a number of diverse racial and cultural groups within the state, many of which have been only imperfectly assimilated into its economic and social life. Probably no other area of the United States has had a greater diversity in this respect.

In particular, the Orientals have been present here in greater numbers than in other parts of the country. We have had our share of nationality and cultural groups from Europe, though perhaps less so than have some eastern areas. There has been a small but relatively constant number of Indians in the state since the earliest record. The number of Negroes has increased steadily since 1870, and by 1940 they had become the largest racial minority in California.

Although complete data are lacking, there is enough information to show that wartime migration of Negroes to California has been large, and that by 1945 there were roughly 250,000 in the state or a doubling since 1940. While many of them come from the South, they have been mostly urban rather than rural Negroes and have gone predominantly into war industries. California has a major problem in the size of her Negro population. This problem need not be insurmountable, but it may be difficult. Several groups within California are striving to promote better understanding among the racial groups. A Fair Employment Practices bill has been introduced, drawn along lines generally similar to those of the national bill and to the Act recently passed in New York State. To the extent that these efforts are successful, tension will be relieved and perhaps conflict avoided.

The way in which the Mexican population is to be regarded has been the subject of considerable discussion. From many viewpoints, the Mexicans are a separate racial group, if one emphasizes the Indian blood in their ancestors. On the other hand, if one emphasizes their European, particularly Spanish, blood, one must consider them as a nationality or cultural group rather than as a separate race. The Census has been inconsistent in its treatment of Mexicans. Prior to 1930 they were considered as members of the white race and not enumerated separately. In 1930 this position was abandoned: they were considered as a separate racial group and enumerated as such, with estimates made as to their probable numbers in 1910 and 1920. In 1940, however, the enumeration reverted to the earliest practices and they were included with the white race. At any rate, their numbers in 1930 were far greater than the numbers in any racial group – in fact, greater than all racial groups combined. Although it is probable that their numbers had declined by 1940, while the numbers of other racial groups had increased, Mexicans were still a relatively large segment of the population.

Chinese have been a part of California's population since before 1860. Their numbers reached a peak in 1880, as far as can be determined from Census data, and declined steadily and rapidly until 1920, since which date there has been a considerable increase in their numbers.

Japanese were not a major factor in California's population until after 1900 but increased very rapidly from that date until about 1930; from then, on, their numbers have remained relatively constant. During the war, of course, most Japanese were evacuated from California and the number which has returned by 1945 is small. While it is difficult to estimate how many may ultimately return to California, it is highly unlikely that postwar California will have as many Japanese as did prewar California.

The Filipinos have been another racial group prominent in California in recent years. Their numbers were small prior to 1920. By 1930 they had increased to exceed the Indian population and to almost equal the Chinese population. Other racial minorities have been the Hindu, Korean, and still other less common groups.

In addition to these racial minorities, there have been numerous cultural groups within California. A mere listing of these indicates their diversity. There have been Armenians, Russians, Greeks, Yugoslavs, Italians, Germans, Swiss, and various other nationality groups which have come to California and retained in some measure the characteristics of their native culture. Even the groups of native-born Americans, who have migrated to California from different areas within the nation, have had rather marked characteristics, some of which they have retained after arriving in California. The common and usually disparaging references to "Okies" and "Arkies" is not entirely without foundation in differences in culture or manners of life. Their speech differed somewhat; they were often nearly destitute upon arrival, and had difficulty in finding employment during the depression years. As a result, their clothes, their houses, and their automobiles were often very poor. They couldn't, under such circumstances, "put their best foot forward" in the presence of other people, and their natural pride and independence often made them resent efforts to control and dominate their work and living.

In general, the racial groups have been partly assimilated into California's economic and social life; the nationality groups have been absorbed more than the racial groups but not entirely so; the American born population, migrating from other parts of the United States, have become assimilated most. Also, in general, the adults who have come to California have been assimilated less and their children more. The degree of assimilation of different groups varies greatly and it is beyond the scope of this article to discuss it in detail. The presence of a number of racial and cultural groups lends diversity to California's population. To some extent it adds richness also, though perhaps less so than if these groups had become more completely identified with, and had had more influence upon, the character of the already-resident groups. Be that as it may, California's population is made up of many segments, some of which are quite distinct from the larger group.

THE SPIRIT OF CALIFORNIA

Probably the most important result of the large migration to California, and certainly the most difficult to measure and evaluate, has been its effect upon the spirit of California. It is a difficult thing to define the "spirit" of a population, and an even more difficult matter to measure it in quantitative terms. There is every reason to believe that *migration is a selective force in a population.* As we have indicated in statistical terms, it is the younger people, the males, and probably the unattached persons who move to a new area. Although the tendency cannot be measured, it seems probable that these people are also the ones on whom the ties of the old community rest least strongly. In some cases they may actually have rebelled against the traditions, customs, and formality of the area in which they lived. This selective force in migration – this impulse among certain members of society to move and change – has not improbably been a factor in the building up of the national population. Certainly everyone familiar with early colonial history knows that the persons who migrated to the colonies from Europe were frequently those to whom religious and political freedom was valuable and who could not accept the conditions existing in their native country. It seems probable that this selective force in migration has also been operating *within* the United States.

In another sense also, migration affects the spirit of the country. The new environment into which migrants come is less likely than the quitted areas to have well-established customs and traditions into which the newcomer must fit. This is particularly true when the volume of migration is large. The migrants tend to form their own customs and traditions. If all of the migrants came from a single source, or if all had a single cultural background, and if the physical environment into which they came were not strongly different from the environment which they left, probably a large number of the customs and traditions of the area of origin would be transplanted to the new area. However, *the very diversity of California's migration, as well as the fact that the physical environment in the state differs from that in the areas of origin, has led to some abandonment of the old forms and traditions and to the evolution of certain new ones.*

It is rather difficult to put these results into words and to describe them more or less precisely. It appears that the migration process, by which certain types of individuals feel the urge to abandon old surroundings for new, has led to some features of California life which may be described as positive. *These are the resourcefulness, initiative, and willingness to try new things which characterize the people.* We have an imaginative, creative, venturesome population which, to some extent at least, owes these qualities to its composite origin. The challenge of the difficult or the impossible fascinates this population. They are proud of their accomplishments in doing what some, in other areas, would consider impossible. On what may be called the negative side, this migration process has had its influence, too. *There is a lack of stability, as ordinarily understood, in the California culture which is noticeable in many ways.* California has probably had a greater measure of proposals for economic utopia than any other area. The single tax system of Henry George originated in California and has repeatedly been urged here. Proposals for monetary reform of all types have been common. Likewise, numerous types of comprehensive programs of the "cure-all" variety have been urged for the assistance of elderly groups. "Ham and Eggs," "Thirty Every Thursday," "Funny Money," and numerous other phrases are current in California's conversation, to describe one or another of these efforts towards providing older citizens with economic bliss. California also has been noted for its diverse religious manifestations; there are perhaps more unusual sects and religious groups in California than in any other area, and groups originating elsewhere have found here a fertile field in which to cultivate additional membership.

SUMMARY

An attempt has been made to show the predominant role played by migration in California's population. Migration has largely made California from a population viewpoint, and is continuing to make and remake the state. The volume of migrants has been large and their origin diverse. They have tended to be young adults. The result of the heavy migration has been an abnormal age distribution – far fewer children and young people than in a normal age distribution. Another result has been the large number and diverse character of the racial and cultural groups. Lastly, and perhaps of most importance, migration has left its imprint upon what might be called the spirit of California: a spirit difficult to measure and evaluate, but in some measure different from that in other and more stable areas.

NOTES

1. Doris Marion Wright, "The Making of Cosmopolitan California – An Analysis of Immigration, 1848–1870," this *Quarterly, XIX* (Dec. 1940), 323-343, and XX (March 1941), 65-79.

2. Samuel A. Stouffer, "Intervening Opportunities: A Theory Relating Mobility and Distance," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, V (1940), 845-867.

3. Margaret L. Bright and Dorothy S. Thomas, "Interstate Migration and Intervening Opportunities," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, VI (1941), 773-783.

4. Sources of Figures 2-5 are as follows: Tenth Census of the United States (1880), Compendium, Table XXVII, pp. 464-69 and 482; Eleventh Census (1890), Compendium, Pt. III, Table 1, pp. 14-19; Twelfth Census (1900), Vol. I, Population, Pt. I, Table 25, pp. 686-89; Thirteenth Census (1910), Vol. I, Population, Table 33, p. 838, and Table 35, pp. 730-34; Fourteenth Census (1920), Vol. II, Population, Table 17, pp. 626-31, and Table 6, p. 697; Fifteenth Census (1930), Population, Vol. II, Table 21, pp. 153-57, and Table 5, pp. 235-36; Sixteenth Census (1940), Population, "Internal Migration 1935 to 1940, Color and Sex of Migrants."

The charts representing Figures 2-5 were prepared by the U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bur. of Agricultural Economics, Berkeley, California.

★ ★ A Contemporary Document ★ ★

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE
ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Fairmont Hotel
San Francisco
June 23, 1945

Dear Roger:

I wish to express for myself and for the Department of State our sincerest appreciation for the cooperation and outstanding assistance of the City and County of San Francisco in carrying on the United Nations Conference on International Organization.

In addition to the members of your Committee for the Conference, all members of your staff, and indeed everyone who had an opportunity to assist us, did so with great courtesy and in the true tradition of Western hospitality.

We appreciate the difficulties involved in taking care of this historic conference, and want you to know that we are leaving San Francisco with a warm and friendly feeling toward its people and its Mayor.

With best wishes always,

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) E. R. STETTINIUS, JR.

The Honorable
ROGER D. LAPHAM
Mayor of San Francisco
California

When I Think Back To San Francisco

By Harry W. Frantz

(Written for the California Historical Society)

When, from far away and long time hence,
I look back to San Francisco,
Bright thoughts will emerge
From time-dark horizons of memory.

I shall think of five lights
In this city: I shall think of sunlight
Vanishing beyond the Golden Gate; of harbor lights
Gleaming red and green from ship-stern or buoy.
I shall think of flashing lights from trains
Crossing the incredible Bay Bridge; the fearsome
Glare-lights above the walls of Alcatraz Prison;
And moonlight challenging darkness
On Marin hills.

Next, I shall think of seven sounds
In this city: I shall remember the nightly
Siren of restless fire trucks; the heartening
Clang of cable cars; a lonely fog horn
Tempering the Bay's gray hazard; the scream of seagulls
Trailing sea-bound steamers; the noise of a juke box
In a waterfront dive. I shall think of heavy hammers
On shattered ship-plates; and the sound of waves
Pounding the Pacific strand.

Perhaps, after that, I shall think of flowers:
Of glistening orange poppies on straw-hued stubble;
The purple of pansy beds at Golden Gate Park,
The red of rhododendron. I shall see the lemon of broom
Struggling up Telegraph Hill; the blue of lupin
On Bay Shore meadows. And I shall remember
The violent pink and yellow snapdragons
In Dolores graveyard.

I shall think, also, of the things that brought
Refreshment, surcease: red Chianti wine
Against checkered tablecloths; asparagus tips at Pierre's,
Ravioli at Jack's, midnight "hot dogs" and mustard
On Market Street, or the free lunch for newsmen
In the Veterans' Building.

And afterwards, too, I shall think of U. N. C. I. O.:
Of the stage at the Opera House – four pillared
Freedoms, and the fifty, straight up-standing flags
Of nations. I shall remember the tribunal
For speakers, and the thrill
Of Eden or of Molotov. I shall see the paper-burdened
Tables of committeemen at midnight; I shall hear
The clatter of teletypes, and the blare
Of loudspeakers, out-of-doors.

Let me hope, too, that when I think back
To San Francisco, it may be with gratitude
And with elation, remembering
The City of the Golden Gate
As the cradle of a new world charter;
As the scene of expanding fraternity
Among the nations; as the annealing point
For strong links, in a chain
Of happy human destiny.

June, 1945

Sherman Was There

*The Recollections of Major Edwin A. Sherman (Continued)

THE passengers, by association and of necessity, had become known to each other, and as we were getting nearer to the end of our voyage and were soon to separate, we became more sociably inclined. As I had resided some four years and more in California, I made bold to make acquaintance with the two ladies in "bloomers." I asked the younger and smaller one where she was going and what she was going to do. She replied that her name was Miss Pellet and she was going to deliver lectures on temperance. I told her that that was a good thing and gave her the names of several gentlemen who would be interested and on whom she could call. I then asked the other lady the same questions, and she answered that her name was Mary Atkins and that she was going to start a female seminary. I replied that I did not know how she would make out; but that I thought she would do better if she commenced with one already established, if she could make a trade. I told her that there was a young ladies' seminary at Benicia, convenient to the lines of travel, which had been founded by a young man upon my recommendation, four and a half years ago, and he might want to make a change; that they might possibly agree on terms, and she could buy him out. I said I would give her a letter of introduction, which I wrote out.

On presenting it to her I said: "If you want to succeed in California, discard at once your 'bloomer' garb. You will find it difficult to succeed otherwise." She thanked me for the letter and my blunt advice. She then went to Benicia, bought the young man out, and for about twelve years made the "Benicia Young Ladies Seminary" [100] a most popular institution, of which I shall make mention further on.

Miss Pellet lectured on temperance for a short time, and then went to Nicaragua as aid or something to the filibuster William Walker,[101] who was captured and forfeited his life, being shot. What her career was after that, I am not informed.

In a few days more we arrived at San Francisco where we all separated. I put up at the Russ House, and was placed in a room with two beds. I had my choice and retired early. About eleven o'clock I was awakened by the landlord coming into the room, with a gentleman who was given the other bed. I asked him where he was from, and he replied "Sacramento." I made some further inquiries and learned that he was a brother Mason, that he belonged to the First Congregational Church there (the Rev. J. A. Benton, Pastor), and that he himself taught a class of young ladies in the Sunday

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*The steamer *Panama*, carrying Sherman back to California after a visit with his family in Boston, was on its way north from Acapulco.

School; also, that he was cashier of Page & Bacon's Bank at Sacramento.[102]

He invited me to go with him to Sacramento at 4 o'clock the next afternoon on the steamboat *Senator*,[103] which I gratefully accepted. He paid my fare and I occupied a berth in his stateroom. Upon our arrival the next morning, he took me to the Sacramento Hotel kept by Brother Townsend A. Thomas, Past Deputy Grand Master, where he told Bro. Thomas to provide for me and that he himself would be responsible. This unexpected liberality towards me, an utter stranger, was wholly unaccountable. His name was George I. N. Monell, and he was one of the noblest men and Masons that ever trod this earth. All honor to his memory.

A few days afterwards, Bro. Thomas said to me, "You are better known here than you think you are. Bro. Monell wanted you as a guard, but you did not know it. He didn't want anybody with him in his stateroom that he could not trust. He had taken down a great deal of gold dust to San Francisco, and his carpet bag was loaded with sacks of coin for Page and Bacon's Bank; besides that, the clerk of the steamboat *Senator* was Joseph D. Watson,[104] one of your company that came with you from Philadelphia across Mexico, and he would not take a cent for your fare."

All this was agreeable news to me, and I went around the town, hunting up old acquaintances and making new ones. Great preparations were being made for the laying of the corner-stone of the new courthouse [105] at the corner of 7th and I streets by the Grand Lodge of F. & A. M. of California (M. W. William H. Howard, Grand Master), which was to be laid on September 9, 1854,[106] Admission Day. At that time, there were three Masonic lodges in Sacramento, viz., "Tehama No. 3," "Washington No. 20," and "Sacramento No. 40"; also one R. A. Chapter "Sacramento, No. 3." All of these bodies turned out on Admission Day with full ranks and with visiting Brethren. The procession was marshaled by Bro. Isaac Davis. Bros. Wm. F. Knox and David Farquharson were the architects, Bro. James Bowstead cast the capitals and bases for the pillars, and Bro. James H. Ralston [107] was the Grand Orator of the occasion. This was the first corner-stone laid by the Grand Lodge of F. & A. M. of California, but no record was made of the event by the Grand Secretary. It is for this reason, I being present, that I make mention of it here, as I did in my *Fifty Years of Masonry in California.*

For the period of nine months in Sacramento, I was busy with my pen. I joined the Sacramento Society of California Pioneers, visited constantly the Masonic Lodges, and became generally known. There was no surveying to be done, excepting officially by the county and the city surveyors. The state surveyor general's office was *in statu quo*, waiting for Uncle Sam to do his work first, in township-ing and sectionalizing the public lands, and surveying and segregating the undefined areas of the Spanish [108] land grants, all of which work was done by contract with the U. S. surveyor general in San Francisco.

I first applied for employment to the county surveyor of Sacramento County. He had plenty of work, but was grouty and surly and almost insulting. I told him to take another observation on the five-pointed North Star, and correct his magnetic variation. He was mad and dumb, and I left him to his own reflections.

I then went as a looker-on, and saw first how the city surveyor was doing his work before making his acquaintance. I saw that he knew but little about his business, not understanding how to use his transit, nor even to reverse his telescope, so I did not apply; but in my mind's eye I saw an abundant harvest of litigation which would grow out of his incompetency. He was by profession a druggist, and not a surveyor . . .

For a few weeks I had a little employment as a rodman on the survey of the Sacramento Valley Railroad, from Sacramento to Folsom, the first railroad in California.

A friend of mine informed me that a draughtsman was wanted at Indian Diggings in El Dorado County to plot a mining ditch, and advised me to apply for the position. I did it at once, through him, and was told to start immediately. I went to Theodore Judah, the civil engineer [109] of the Sacramento Valley Railroad, who kindly accommodated me with a few sheets of drawing and profile paper; and, supplying myself with some articles I did not have, I started for Indian Diggings in a new fine Concord coach, filled with passengers going to Jackson and other towns in Amador County.

On our arrival at Drytown, we had to change to a thorough-brace jerker, with three seats. I secured the middle one, and had an elderly lady on my left. On the back seat were three men, and on the front seat were two miners, who talked loud and continuously, with great energy, about the mines in and about Fiddletown, which was a great mining camp, and through which we had to pass in going to Indian Diggings. The name "Fiddletown" was painted on all the mail coaches and stages running there and on those connecting with them. Whenever the miners repeated the word "Fiddletown," the old lady got uneasy and pulled at her shawl and veil very nervously. At last she broke out and said, "Gentlemen, you are mistaken, it isn't now, and it never was, 'Fiddletown.' I guess I know. I and my family were the first people who ever settled there. We built a large house and kept a tavern, and people came there to dance. My husband and my two sons and a daughter all played the violin; and two of them could play the flute and one the flageolet. We were all a musical family, if you will hear *me*." One of the miners then asked of her, "What did you call the place then, if it wasn't 'Fiddletown'?" She indignantly replied, "*Violin City*, Sir! *Violin City*, if you please!" That thorough-brace jerker was uproarious with laughter as we entered "Violin City," or "Fiddletown," as it was generally known. But the people there thought we were all *tight*. Here, most of the passengers got out. After a change of horses we resumed our journey, and, a little after dark, arrived at the Indian Diggings Hotel, kept by Bro. P. Gibson.

After waiting a couple of days, I found I would have to wait two weeks more before anything definite could be decided about my work, as the field notes of the water-ditch survey were not ready for plotting.

A dispensation for a Masonic Lodge had been granted for that place [110] by Grand Master Wm. H. Howard to Bro. Edgar Bogardus W. M., William Holliday S. W., P. Gibson J. W., and other brethren.

A plain, rough building of two stories in height had been erected on a hill above town: the lower story for a public school, and the upper for a Masonic hall with its anterooms. It was about a quarter of a mile from the hotel, so I obtained the key and went up to look at it. I entered and found everything very plain, but suitable for a mining town in the mountains. The sides and floors were deadened by sawdust, tamped between the walls and between the floor and ceiling over the room below. Overhead and along the walls of the Lodge room it was lined with white cotton cloth, on which wall paper was eventually to be placed. I looked at those cloth-lined walls, as an artist would look, and my fingers itched.

When I went to the hotel for dinner, I learned that Bro. Bogardus, the Master, was at Sacramento, and that the Lodge could not be opened for ten days, until his return, at which I secretly rejoiced. I went to my room and got my crayon pencils, some pieces of soft pine charcoal, and my rule with a straight edge, and went up again to the hall, where I worked steadily for a week on those canvas walls, panelling them and delineating on them the charts of the first three degrees of Masonry, with the Senior Deacon conducting and instructing the candidate. I finished it up in the best manner I could, and in a few days more Bro. Bogardus the Master arrived, greatly regretting that he couldn't get the charts for the three degrees, either in Sacramento or San Francisco. I said nothing and kept very quiet. A meeting of Masons was called for the purpose of organizing the Lodge. I did not go but remained at the hotel. Half an hour afterwards, however, I received a peremptory summons to attend the Lodge immediately, so I went at once. When I entered, all were as sober and serious as if it had been a funeral. I saluted at the altar as usual, when the Master, in a very severe mood, asked me, "Bro. Sherman, did you do this work on the walls?" I responded, "I did." "What did you do it for?" he inquired. I replied, "I could not help it; for like the architect of King Solomon's Temple, I saw that there was an abundance of room for usefulness and ornament." His manner immediately changed, and, in behalf of the Lodge, he thanked me for the agreeable sight and surprise I had given the Brethren on that evening. The Lodge continued to use my work, I learned, for many years afterwards.

The draughting of the water-ditch survey did not materialize. I had about made up my mind to go back to Sacramento, when I got a letter from a friend asking me to return there at once. I found that my bill at the Indian Diggings hotel had been paid, and I was refunded the expense of coming there and returning. Just as I was leaving and getting into the stage, Bro. [George] McDonald, the treasurer of the Lodge, handed me fifty dollars,[111] stating that he was directed to do so by the Master, which was a very agreeable surprise to me. The crack of the stage driver's whip cut short my thanks, and we were off for "Violin City" (or Fiddletown) and Drytown en route to my destination Sacramento, where I arrived at the Sacramento Hotel that evening.

The next morning I was up very early and waited impatiently for breakfast, which I sent on its way rejoicing. I then hunted up my friend, John C. Barr, who had sent me word to come to Sacramento. At nine o'clock I found him at his office and he most kindly welcomed me. He then said, "You know, of course, that the Whig party is dead and that the Democratic party is under the control of the worst kind of foreigners, ballot-box stuffers, thieves, murderers, and ticket-of-leave men from Botany Bay Australia and 'Sydney Ducks.' [112] We are organizing the 'American party,' and we think we can get you the nomination for county surveyor of Sacramento County. The election takes place the first Tuesday in September. The present county surveyor is so very unpopular that you would no doubt be elected."

I thanked him and was ready to do what I could for its success. The convention was held, and I was fortunate by an overwhelming majority in receiving the nomination. My opponent, then in office, had joined the American party,[113] but, failing to receive the nomination, and as the Democrats had no candidate on their ticket, he deserted, had his name printed on theirs, and, being in office, was dead certain of retaining it.

The American party had its state organization and a full ticket nominated, with J. Neely Johnson at the head as candidate for governor. The Democratic party had at the head of its ticket the then incumbent, John Bigler. Both were of Sacramento. I remembered Bigler as one of the clerks of the election in Sacramento on November 13, 1849, when we voted to ratify the state constitution and elected state officers for the first time; also, when he came to Sonoma during his second campaign for the governorship in 1853, Waldo being the Whig candidate.

On that latter trip to Sonoma, Bigler was wearing a farmer's rough clothing, a great broad-brimmed straw hat, and was driving a double-horse team attached to a sort of buck-board vehicle. He came into the barroom and office of the Union Hotel. I recognized him in spite of his disguise, and stepped back into the adjoining room, where I could observe him and take notes. A young man named Peter Thomp[s?]on was both clerk and barkeeper. Dick Butler was seated and reading a newspaper, and he had a nose that would have served as a danger signal on a dark night.

The day was pretty warm when Bigler arrived. He looked around as he entered and saw Dick Butler. Bigler said, "Won't you take something, Sir?" "I don't mind if I do," said Dick. "I like to patronize home industry," said the governor, and called for a large glass of Sonoma-brewed beer. "I'll take whiskey," said Butler. He poured about four fingers in his glass and swallowed it, before the governor had hardly sipped his beer. After a little, the governor said, "How is our party getting along here? How do things look?" "Splendid," replied Dick. "We shall go out of this county with at least five hundred majority." "I am surprised at that," said the governor. "Yes," said Dick, "I wouldn't be surprised if Waldo went out of this county with over seven hundred majority." "WALDO!" asked the governor in astonishment. "Yes, Waldo," replied Dick. "Are you not a Democrat?" inquired the governor. Dick Butler, his tongue a little thick, replied, "I may have all the symptoms of a Democrat, but I am a Whig!" The governor immediately took his departure for Napa. Of this episode I was an eye witness and heard it all. Our "Scott Club," of which I was a member, as was also Dick Butler, met that night. (Gen. Winfield Scott was then running for President.) Butler was its secretary. I related the above circumstances, while Dick's face glowed like a furnace and the symptoms became epidemic with nearly the whole club.

In this third campaign [1855], Bigler had another Butler on *his* side, who came up from San Francisco with a large gang of roughs. They created trouble which threatened serious results. To avoid having this happen in Sacramento, a mass meeting for a joint debate was agreed upon, to be held at Michigan Bar, a mining town, about thirty miles distant in the southeastern part of Sacramento County. This would leave the San Francisco "plug uglies" out.

I attended with many others from Sacramento. It was held in the evening, and there were several thousands present. A large platform was erected, large enough to accommodate a hundred men. Double chairmen were chosen to preside alternately, presenting their speakers likewise alternately. On the Democratic side were Vincent Geiger, who was editor of the Democratic State Journal,[114] William S. Long – an attorney – and a man by the name of David Higgins who was trying to be one. On the American party side were J. Neely Johnson, an attorney and candidate for governor, William I. Ferguson, candidate for the state senate, and Frank Hereford, candidate for district attorney. The arguments and oratory were splendid, excepting on the part of Higgins. It was apparently his maiden effort away from home.

Whiskey was lively and on demand with the crowd and with the Democratic chairman, whose name was Mooney. Bad feeling was being manifested on both sides that night, and a row seemed to be imminent. Every time the Democratic chairman introduced his speaker, he would come down from the platform, and either stand in front to listen to him or take a friend and go out and get a drink. As I was not known to him or the crowd, I stepped up to Mr. Mooney and praised Mr. Higgins, who was to be the last Democratic speaker and was to close the meeting. He was a candidate for assemblyman for that county. As the time approached and party feeling had reached the highest degree in the political thermometer without coming to blows, Democratic Chairman Mooney arose and said, "Gintlemin and fellow citizens, I now take the greatest plishure in introducing to you Mr. Higgins, the war horse of the Dimicratic party of Sacraminto County." Mooney left the stand as before, and came down and stood in front to hear him.

Higgins arose; and as he looked over the large audience, he brushed back his hair from his high classic forehead and then spoke as if he had a hot potato in his mouth. "Fellow citizens, I would state that . . . " and was lost for an idea. He started several times and got stuck as before. But Mooney, who was all expectation to hear something grand, lost his patience and said to him, "Ye wud state thot – What in the hill wud ye state? Didn't yez till me yez name was Higgins?" The latter, in a Demosthenic attitude, replied with great dignity, "My name is Higgins!" "Isn't it a mishtake – isn't it MUGGINS?" inquired Mooney. This broke up the meeting in a roar of laughter. All of us from Sacramento returned that night, both parties in a state of hilarity, but Higgins was glum.

The election was held on September 5th, 1855. The American state and county ticket was elected and I led my county ticket by three to one over my opponent.

I was now to enter upon the office to which I had been elected, after being sworn in on Monday, October 1st, 1855, and furnishing five thousand dollars in bonds for the faithful performance of its duties. I had been to San Francisco, secured my transit, level, chains, pins, etc., and was altogether about one thousand dollars in debt, when sworn into office. I occupied the same office room with Judge H. Foote Turner, the county assessor, and his chief deputy, E. Black Ryan. I appointed no deputy, but did all the work myself, both day and night; and by January 1st 1856, having earned enough to pay every dollar I owed, including the cost of my instruments, I felt like a free man.

I surveyed every county road, laid out new ones, and was up to my waist in nearly ice-cold water a part of the time, in surveying swamp and overflowed lands. The prospects of a very busy year were before me.

I had affiliated with, and became a member of, Sacramento Lodge No. 40, F. & A. M.; but my public duties required me to be absent and out of town so much, that I was compelled to decline all appointments to office in the Lodge. Although I knew it all by memory, I always carried my Monitor with me, for I did not want to get rusty. My schoolmate and friend, Bro.

William B. Wood, had come to California and was a draughtsman and pattern-maker at a foundry in San Francisco. He had left his intended – also a schoolmate, a Miss Annie Harding – in Boston, to follow him when sent for.

After providing a cozy dwelling for their home, he had to wait for her some months, as she had taken passage in a ship *via* Cape Horn. When the vessel came to anchor in the harbor of San Francisco, Bro. Wood, in his eager haste to meet her, started off with a boat to take her ashore; but she declined to go in such a hurried manner, and said to him, "William Bussy Wood, you just go ashore again, and return with a minister to marry us, on board of this ship. I will go ashore with you as your wife, or not at all!" So he had to pull ashore again, wander around the sand hills to find an Episcopalian minister, take him out in a boat in rough water to the ship, and, with a *running bowline*, the marital knot was tied.

In the fall of 1855, his father, mother, and sisters arrived, and went to Grass Valley to reside with a son-in-law, Stephen Fletcher, a good man; but all of them returned to San Francisco in a few years, where the father and son, who had affiliated with California Lodge No. 1, F. & A. M., and the mother died and were buried. The son-in-law, Stephen Fletcher, removed to Alameda with his family. He died there and was buried in Mountain View Cemetery, Oakland. His daughter, Annie, married an Episcopalian clergyman, a Rev. Mr. Kelly. They reared a large family, one of which was a son, who also became an Episcopalian minister, and was installed over a church in Berkeley.

I had enough business to keep me active in the winter and spring of 1856, but political events were taking place, dissolving and disintegrating parties, and foreshadowing what was inevitably to follow. At that time there were two infantry companies of the National Guard of California in Sacramento. One was called the "Sutter Rifles," composed of men of southern proclivities and commanded by a Capt. Corse, the proprietor of the Orleans Hotel on Second Street between J and K. The other company was the "City Guard," composed of merchants and solid business men and commanded by Capt. L. L. Baker of the hardware firm of Baker and Hamilton. There was a great *esprit du corps* and rivalry between these two companies. W. M. Winn, with no military experience or service, but a politician, was major general commanding that division, while Dr. Horace W. Carpentier,[115] the Oakland land grabber, with like incapacity and inexperience, was the major general commanding the division of the National Guard in and about San Francisco.

About that time I was drilling a company of boys, taking them a short distance out of town on Saturday afternoons, and for four continuous hours I gave them instructions in marching and evolutions with pikes (as in the handling of muskets), and instilling into them the love of their country and devotion to the flag. They were a splendid proud set of boys, some of whom I shall mention later.

This excited the interest of their older brothers, who came to me and wanted me to organize them into another company and drill them with arms. At first I declined, but as they were so strenuous I told them I would see what I could do. I first called a meeting of Veterans of the Mexican War. About twenty were present, and I unfolded my plan to them. They were all to act as instructors and non-commissioned officers, and were to remain with the company until the young men were capable of performing the duties by themselves. Then these officers could resign; but, at the start, let the young men choose one 1st lieutenant and two 2d lieutenants, who could take the command when the time came for the original officers to leave. This plan was acceptable, and I selected Thomas Dunphy as orderly sergeant; I had known him in the Mexican War, when he held that office in Company F of the 1st Pennsylvania Volunteers. With his aid, I selected four other sergeants, four corporals, four lance corporals, a drummer, a fifer, and two buglers, and appointed the time and place for the meeting in the upper loft of Dr. R. H. McDonald's store-house. About eighty were present. They signed the roll, and the name chosen was "The Sacramento Cadets." I was unanimously elected captain, Charles Warner 1st lieutenant, Charles Watson and one other 2d lieutenants. Scotts Tactics were adopted. Other veterans of the Mexican War rallied to it and signed the roll, making fully one-half of the company veterans who had seen service. Adjutant General William C. Kibbe allowed us to use a lot of old muskets for the antiquated manual of arms, until we could be mustered in.

The peace of the whole state was suddenly disturbed by the assassination of James King of William, a banker and publisher of the San Francisco *Bulletin*, by one James Casey, a ballot-box stuffer and an ex-convict of Sing Sing Prison, New York. There followed the rising of the people of San Francisco, the forming of the Vigilance Committee, and the forcible taking of Casey and of Cora, another murderer, out of jail, and their hanging by a well-drilled armed body of about ten thousand men.

The whole state was in revolution against crime and criminals, who suddenly became clamorous for "law and order," which they had with great contempt violated. Other murderers, a Dr. Hetherington and an outlaw by the name of Brace were also tried and hanged by the Vigilance Committee, the latter, Brace, singing a song he had composed to the tune of "Jordan is a hard road to travel," of which the following is the last verse:

"Oh the Vigilantes they say
Took Cora and Casey away,
And erected a scaffold accordin,
They pulled away the prop,
And down came the drop,
And landed them the other side of Jordan."

Hetherington cried like a child, but Brace cursed him to the last moment when the trap fell.

On the Sunday morning, as the Vigilance Committee was marching to take Cora and Casey, out of jail, old Col. Gift, a native of Tennessee, was standing on the corner of Clay and Montgomery streets, when one of his friends said to him, "Do you think those fellows will fight?" The old gentleman replied, "When you see these psalm-singing Yanks turning out with muskets on a Sunday morning, instead of going to church and Sunday school with a Bible and a hymnbook under their arms, let me tell you emphatically that hell isn't half a mile away!"

The whole state was aroused, and the governor's actions only made matters worse. William T. Sherman, then cashier of Lucas, Turner & Co.'s Bank in San Francisco, and a retired captain of the U. S. Army, was appointed major general of the National Guard and in command, against the protestations of Major General Horace W. Carpentier, the regular commander of that division. Judge David Terry, of the Supreme Court of the state, was arrested by the Vigilance Committee for stabbing a member by the name of Hopkins, and if Hopkins had died Terry would have been hanged.

Gen. Wool of the U. S. Army and Admiral Farragut of the Navy were appealed to, to suppress the Vigilance Committee, but they wisely kept their hands off, and let the cauldron boil. People from all over the state rallied to the support of the Vigilance Committee in San Francisco. Travel had never been so brisk in the history of the state. Stages from the mountains and river steamboats were crowded, to their utmost capacity, with men going to San Francisco to take sides, mostly in favor of the Vigilance Committee of the People.

At Sacramento, Gen. W. M. Winn ordered all the uniformed and enrolled militia to appear and pass in review. A spirit of mischief and fun spontaneously manifested itself among the entire people of the City and County of Sacramento, and with suppressed mirth, but with intensity of purpose, they secretly and quietly prepared for the great military event, determined to give it all the eclat possible.

Gen. Winn, at the appointed hour, took his position with his staff on the balcony of the Orleans Hotel, a compact body of citizens behind him, who were determined that he should review the *whole* parade, and not leave until everything had passed in front of him for inspection, as he stood looking down nearly twenty feet into the street.

With a band of music leading, Capt. Corse commanding the battalion of the Sutter Rifles and Capt. L. L. Baker of the City Guard, passed in review in proper military order. Then came several hundred men in fantastic uniforms according to each man's taste, and carrying all sorts of weapons. They were very large, and if they weighed as heavy as they looked, four of them would have weighed a ton. These were known as the "Windy

Guards" and were commanded by *Capt. Windygutz*, whose commands and the evolutions of his company were not in accordance with any known military tactics. These were followed by the "Sheet Ironsides Cavalry," mounted on mules and led by Dan Virgil Gates, the actor, clad in sheet iron armor, brandishing a lance, the shaft of which was a stovepipe with a tremendous, broad sheet-iron arrowhead for a spear.

Following this cavalry, came the "Flying Artillery" of about thirty yoke of oxen, driven by teamsters and hauling the smoke-stack of a river steamer mounted on wheels. Then came the quartermaster and commissary departments, represented by four-legged jackasses and mules heavily loaded down and trying to make headway by marching in gum boots. Then a promiscuous lot of made-up Chinamen with gongs, . . . The last of that military procession consisted of a mixed team of lame horses, mules and oxen, hauling an old broken-down Concord coach or hack covered with black, and bearing a cloth sign, marked "Habeas corpus."

It took several hours for that military parade and burlesque procession to pass, and Gen. Winn, whose foolish order had invoked all of this display, could not retire, but perforce was compelled to remain and see it all. It was his last review in Sacramento. I was present and witnessed it all in common with thousands of others, from the sidewalk. A similar description perhaps may be found in the files of the Sacramento Union of that date and in other newspapers the next day, while I write from memory as I saw it.

But more foolish proceedings were to follow. Gen. Winn went to San Francisco and orders were sent for the Sutter Rifles, the City Guards, and the Sacramento Cadets to go to San Francisco to suppress the Vigilance Committee. The Sutter Rifles were getting ready for that purpose, and had chartered a steamboat for themselves and their friends. The City Guards and their friends had chartered another steamboat to go down and join the Vigilance Committee. It looked ominous, as if there might be a fight in Sacramento before they got started. I telegraphed that my company was not yet mustered in; and that as no arms had been issued to us, we could not obey the order. I suggested, however, that if an order was sent to me to take possession of the state armory and hold it, and not permit either the Sutter Rifles or the City Guards to take their arms, I would obey that order, and thus prevent a fiight between the two parties in steamboats on the river, which certainly would happen otherwise.

My suggestion was approved and I received my orders accordingly. I stretched heavy two-inch ropes across 2nd Street at K and L streets, ran out two twelve-pound howitzers, loaded with grape and cannister shot, and stationed my comrade veterans of the Mexican War with loaded muskets inside of the ropes and at the cannon. I posted the young men on the stairs and at the windows, taking complete possession of the building and its approaches, with the American flag flying overhead. I was thus prepared for any assault that might be made.

Everything was accomplished so quickly and quietly that the people did not know what had been done. About half-past one P.M., came the Sutter Rifles to get their arms, but they were halted. They cursed and swore and hurled epithets, but all to no purpose. They were informed that we were obeying orders, and that it would be death for any man who attempted to cross that rope. We were old veteran soldiers who knew our duty and would fearlessly perform it. They left, got other arms and went on board their steamboat which left at 2 P.M. Soon came the City Guards for their arms, but were met with the same treatment. They left and took the three o'clock boat, which was densely packed with Vigilante sympathizers. After they left, I detailed regular reliefs of those doing guard duty, and awaited orders. The Sutter Rifles on arriving at San Francisco were made prisoners by the Vigilance Committee, which welcomed the City Guards to their ranks. The next order received was to pack up and send down to San Francisco all the small arms. This was done and they were shipped on a small sailing vessel, but were captured by the Vigilance Committee. The captor, Durkee, was, I believe, charged and tried for piracy on navigable waters, but the case afterwards was dropped.[116]

There being no further duty for my company, the loads were drawn from the cannon, the latter were run back to their places, and the company dismissed. Sacramento was saved from bloodshed. General Wm. Tecumseh Sherman resigned his commission, leaving Dr. Horace W. Carpentier of Oakland in undisputed command of a disbanded division of state militia around the Bay. The occurrence virtually dissolved the American Party in California, and the former Democrats in it fell back to their first love; but, after the embrace, they were soon divorced by coming events which "cast their shadows before." [117]

My two years' term as county surveyor drew to an end. I was renominated, but when the election came, I was wrongfully counted out by the stuffing of the ballot boxes in three precincts. I had cleaned up all my field and office work, however, and when my successor, J. G. Cleal, came in, there was very little left to be done. My surveys were never disputed, and I had the confidence and respect of all my fellow citizens of Sacramento County.

During my official term as county surveyor of Sacramento County, I had to make frequent visits to the U. S. Land Offices at Stockton and Marysville, in order to trace copies of the township plots of the public lands bordering on the swamp and overflowed lands that had been granted by the U. S. Government to the state. I was permitted to do this. The traced copies were my individual property, made by myself and when travelling at my own expense. They greatly facilitated my work, and the information I thus obtained became invaluable to me for futher operations and business.

Prior to the public surveys and the establishment of U. S. Land Offices, every settler who entered upon lands outside of the Spanish grants selected and fenced in such land as he pleased, under the possessory title established by the laws of the state. A large portion of the farmers and stock raisers, coming from east of the crest of the Allegheny Mountains, knew but little of the Government land surveys, or the pre-emption laws of settlement and the requirements. The land had been surveyed into townships, six miles square, which were sectionalized into areas of one mile square each (or six hundred and forty acres) and marked by stakes and mounds, half a mile apart, on the section lines. Every five or six townships going north, a new standard for a new parallel base line had to be established, thirty or thirty-six miles apart, on account of the convergence of the meridians toward the North Pole, which would proportionallv reduce the areas of both townships and sections. All the errors in the surveys were thrown into the northern and western tiers of sections, and in the last eighty and forty acres of these subdivisions.

The lines of the Spanish grants, instead of being straight in one direction to a terminus, were adjusted along the public lands to the lines of the smallest legal subdivision of forty acres.

In each township of the Government lands, the 16th section near the middle, and the 36th section at the southeast corner of each township, were set apart for public-school purposes, or five and one-half per cent (a little over one-twentieth) of the amount given for that purpose.

The Land Offices were opened so that settlers on Government land who were citizens, or had taken out their first papers to become such, could file their pre-emption claims up to, and not exceeding, one hundred and sixty acres each, such settlers to furnish proof at the proper time, when notice was given, of their settlement and improvement, upon which they were entitled to buy the land for a dollar and a quarter per acre, within a specified time, of which due notice would be given. In case of failure to comply with the law, such failure would render the land liable to be put up and sold at auction, at not less than the Government price, to the highest bidder.

The registers of the U. S. Land Offices at Stockton and Marysville, finding the settlers backward through ignorance of the law, requested me to assume the duties of an agent to visit them on their farms and make out their pre-emption applications, for which purpose I was furnished with the proper blanks, and was permitted by the registers to make tracings of the township plots in their offices. I accordingly fitted myself out with a light two-horse team, a covered wagon and camping outfit, and commenced operations, beginning first in Placer County, and working eastward towards the base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, as far as the U. S. surveys then extended.

I carried my surveying instruments with me, and sometimes I would have to foot it several miles before I could find a mound with a stake properly marked, from which to start. This made it tedious, hard work to determine the proper starting point for a man's claim, after which I would have to survey it, as if for the first time, to readjust the boundaries to the Government lines of legal subdivisions. It was difficult, especially because men were dissatisfied with the shape of their locations, when, upon conforming with the Government subdivisions, they found that they had fenced in more land than they were allowed to pre-empt. However, they were compelled to comply with the laws and the U. S. Land Office rules.

Sometimes, when my patience was about worn out with people who were mulish and stubborn and totally unreasonable, I would think of some humorous thing, and, like a doctor, "turn the subject," quit work for the day, and make preparation to leave the next morning, pretty certain that they would follow me up and come to terms, inasmuch as I would give them no description of their claims that would permit the settlers to file on them in the Land Office.

One time, when near the foot hills above Johnson's ranch, on the old Emigrant Road near Bear River crossing, I was encamped with two white men in my employ and three Indians of a neighboring tribe whom I had hired to cut and bring me stakes and dig mounds. There was quite a large number of wild Spanish cattle, grazing near there, that belonged to that ranch. Late one afternoon a man rode up, and he and his horse were pretty well tired out.

I invited him to alight and come into my tent, where I was at work on my drawing-board while my men were cooking supper. I invited him to take "pot luck" with us, and he did so. After supper was over, we went by ourselves, as he wanted to ask my advice about a certain matter. He was a new deputy county assessor and had been sent out from Auburn, the county seat, to collect the foreign miners' license tax.

At that time scarcely any foreigner but a Chinaman was compelled to pay, for working in the mines, a tax of five dollars a head per annum. There were many thousands of coolie Chinamen distributed along the rivers and gulches of the western slope of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, working under contracts with the different Chinese companies in San Francisco who had imported them for that purpose. The contractors were to return them dead or alive to their homes in China, from whence the most of their supplies of food and clothing were also imported. They would work over abandoned dry diggings, as well as the bars in the beds of the rivers that were left dry, or nearly so, in the late summer or fall of the year, and were under the control of their own foremen or bosses, appointed by their fellow-countrymen employers.

When the deputy assessors were sent out from the county seats of the mining counties to collect the foreign miners' per capita license tax, the

Chinese would seek to evade it, and were ever alert to sound the alarm and secrete themselves. The newly appointed deputy collector had on his hands his first and most difficult job – that of collecting the foreigner miners' tax from the Chinamen; and it was this that had brought the man to my camp to ask my advice.

I called one of my Indian employees and asked him how many of his tribe lived near there, and how many of them were men. He said there were nearly two hundred men and about three hundred squaws and children. I knew that throughout California there was a deep-seated hatred among the Indians against the Chinese. After learning the number of Indian bucks, I advised the collector to sign his name on about that number of pieces of paper and appoint the buck Indians as deputies, to arrest the Chinamen hiding in the brush, and bring them to my camp; but he would have to buy three Spanish steers to give the tribe a feast immediately afterwards. He followed my advice; and the buck Indians, armed with a blank piece of white paper bearing the collector's signature and delighted with their job, started early the next day. About noon they began coming in, each holding from two to four Chinamen by their queues or pig tails, and dragging them along, *nolens volens*, to my camp where they were made to disgorge their gold dust and receive their receipts, and then stand aside until their bosses came up and complied with the law also.

(To be continued)

NOTES

100. Mary Atkins' Young Ladies Seminary has been said to have been established in 1852 (*Mills College, Commemorating 85 Years of Distinguished Service*, 1937, p. 3); but Sherman shows that she came in 1854 and took over a pre-existing institution. Later (1865), this academy was in turn taken over by Dr. Cyrus Taggert Mills and his wife, Susan Tolman Mills, who in 1871 transferred their institution to Oakland.

101. This was one of Walker's filibustering attempts, subsequent to the failure of his ambitions in the Mexican state of Sonora. The Nicaragua scheme, which got actually under way in May of 1855, ended with Walker's expulsion by the natives in 1857. His execution took place in Honduras in 1860.

102. Page, Bacon & Company, affiliate of a banking house of the same name in St. Louis, began business in San Francisco in 1850, a branch being established in Sacramento. (Henry Haight, afterwards governor of the state, was a partner.) It grew into one of the most prominent organizations in California, with thousands of miners and others investing their earnings in "certificates of deposit," which were convertible into drafts on New York when the depositors wanted to return home or send money to their families. In 1855, the parent bank in St. Louis became involved in difficulties, and in an attempt to improve the situation, some $2,000,000 in gold was shipped East by the California affiliates. But hardly had the consignment cleared San Francisco, when news arrived that the St. Louis group had suspended payment. Only a few days intervened between receipt of this news and San Francisco's "Black Friday" of February 23, 1855. Lucas, Turner & Co.'s bank, mentioned later by Sherman, remained open. *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman by Himself* (New York, 1875), pp. 108-113. *See also* Leroy Armstrong and J. O. Denny, *Financial California* (San Francisco, 1916), pp. 40, 59-60.

103. The *Senator* was a famous side-wheeler, built in New York for the run between Boston and northeastern Atlantic coastal points. She reached San Francisco from New York on October 27, 1849, and went into service between San Francisco and Sacramento almost immediately. The *Senator* also made coast-wise trips to San Diego. The rate to Sacramento in those days was $30, *plus* $10 for a berth. Jerry MacMullen, *Paddle-Wheel Days in California* (Stanford University Press, 1944), pp. 12, 56, etc.

104. This *Quarterly*, XXIII (Dec. 1944), 366.

105. The first courthouse, built in 1850–51 and used by the legislature in 1852 and 1854, was burned in the Sacramento fire of July 13, 1854. The new structure, said to have been one of the most beautiful buildings of pioneer times, served as the state capitol until the autumn of 1869.

106. *The Sacramento Guide Book* (published by the Sacramento *Bee*, 1939), p. 81, gives the date as September 27, 1854.

107. James H. Ralston had been a circuit judge in Illinois. He came to Sacramento in 1850 and was a member of the senate in the first legislature of California. *See* Sherman, *Fifty Years in California* (San Francisco, 1898), II, section labeled "The Founders and Builders of Masonry in California," pp. 57-60.

108. *See* Bancroft, *History of California*, VI, 530. Also, *ibid.*, whole of Chapter XX (pp. 529-81).

109. Early in 1854, Judah had been recommended for this position to the president of the road by Gov. Horatio Seymour of New York, and was at work by May of that year. Carl I. Wheat, "Sketch of the Life of Theodore D. Judah," this *Quarterly*, IV (Sept. 1925), 221.

110. This was on June 5, 1855. A charter was granted on May 8, 1856. After struggling along for nine years, the decline of the mining interests caused the Lodge at Indian Diggings to be consolidated with St. Marks' Lodge, No. 115, at Fiddletown. No great success, however, attended the consolidation. Sherman, *op. cit.*, I, 241-42.

111. The Master of the Lodge had said that he would give $50 to know who had done the murals. In 1857 Sherman sent the secretary $50 for the charity fund, in repayment of the gift.

112. *Ticket-of-leave* men were convicts who had been given permits enabling them to go at large and labor for themselves, subject to certain conditions. *Sydney Ducks* were probably as "delectable" – and therefore comparable – as the *Sydney coves* mentioned by Bancroft, *ibid.*, VI, 125, note 30.

113. The American party originated in 1852, and by 1854 American or "know nothing" organizations had been formed in almost every town and mining camp in the state. Winfield J. Davis, *History of Political Conventions in California, 1849–1892*, Publs. of California State Library, No. 1 (Sacramento, 1893), pp. 38, 39, 50 ff.

114. The *Democratic State Journal* made its first appearance in 1852 with V. E. Geiger and Co. as publishers. See *A History of California Newspapers*, ed. by Douglas C. McMurtrie (New York: Plandome Press, 1927), pp. 153 ff.

115. Carpentier was the first mayor of Oakland (1854). He was a lawyer, not a doctor; nor can any record be found of his holding a military office. V. E. Howard succeeded Wm. T. Sherman as major general of militia.

116. The vessel was the schooner *Julia*, which was raided early on the morning of June 21, 1856, by a group from the Vigilance Committee led by John L. Durkee and Charles Rand. Compare this account with "The Law and Order View of the San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1856" (from the correspondence of Gov. J. Neely Johnson, arranged for publication by Herbert G. Florcken), this *Quarterly*, XV (1936), 83-86, 254-263.

117. " 'Tis the sunset of life gives me mystical lore,
And coming events cast their shadows before."
(Thomas Campbell, 1777–1844, *in* Lochiel's Warning," line 55.)

News of the Society

Gifts Received by the Society

March 1 to May 31, 1945

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From the late MR. ALBERT M. BENDER – Hall, Carroll D., *Heraldry of New Helvetia, with Thirty-two Cattle Brands and Ear Marks reproduced from the Original Certificates Issued at Sutter's Fort, 1845 to 1848*. San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1945.

From CALIFORNIA STATE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE – *California, Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*. San Francisco, April, 1945.

From CALIFORNIA STATE DIVISION OF MINES – Heiser, Robert F., and Treganza, Adan E., *Mines and Quarries of the Indians of California*. Reprint from *California Journal of Mines*, July, 1944.

From CALIFORNIA STATE RECONSTRUCTION AND RE-EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION – *Report and Recommendations to the California Reconstruction and Re-employment Commission by the State Aerial Mapping Project Committee*, March, 1945.

From THE CAXTON PRINTERS, LTD. – Altrocchi, Julia Cooley, *The Old California Trail*. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1945.

From MR. R. H. CROSS – U. S. Public Works Projects Administration. Historical Records Survey. *Inventory of the County Archives of California, No. 20: Los Angeles County, Assessor's Office*. January, 1941.

From MR. HENRY DUTTON – American Shipmasters' Association, *Record of American and Foreign Shipping, New York*, January 1, 1897; Heininger, C. P., publisher, *Album of San Francisco, Cal., with Views of Prominent Buildings, the Bay, Its Islands, Fortifications, etc.*, 1890; Morphy, Edward, *The Port of San Francisco*, published by the Board of State Harbor Commissioners, 1923; National Board of Fire Underwriters, *The San Francisco Conflagration of April, 1906, Special Report*, by S. Albert Reed. May, 1906.

From FIREMAN'S FUND INSURANCE COMPANY – Ryder, David A., *Storied San Francisco, a Special Edition of Fireman's Fund Record, Commemorating the United Nations Conference on International Organization*, LXVII, No. 5, May, 1945.

From MR. ROSS H. GAST – Gast, Ross H., *Bonin Islands Story*, Monrovia, 1944; *Lew Chew, or Ryukyu Islands, with Commodore Perry in 1853*, Hollywood, 1945.

From MR. CARROLL D. HALL – Hall, Carroll D., *Sutter's Fort Historical Museum*, Sacramento, 1944.

From KEYSTON BROS. – Kemper, Lucrezia, *The Story of Keyston Bros., Seventy-five Years' History of a Business and a Family, 1868–1943*, San Francisco, 1944.

From MR. JOSEPH N. LECONTE – LeConte, Joseph N., *Journal of a Camping Trip Amongst the Highest of the California Sierra. Summer of 1890*. [Offset.]

From MR. MAYNARD McFIE – McFie, Maynard, *The Gay Nineties*, a Paper Read at the Sunset Club, October 27, 1944, Published by the Club as a Contribution to the History of Los Angeles and Southern California, 1945.

From MRS. DOROTHY M. PRING – Tennyson, Alfred, *Poems*, sixth edition, London: Edward Moxon, 1850. [Belonged to Catherine (Kate) Hayes, the "Irish Nightingale." Has her signature, Calcutta, 1855.]

From RANCHO SANTA ANA BOTANIC GARDEN – Wolf, Carl B., *California Wild Tree Crops*, April 11, 1945.

From MRS. BLANCHE L. RICE, MRS. GRACE L. JEWETT, MRS. HAZEL D. HEILBRON – Davis, Ellis A., *Davis' Commercial Encyclopedia of the Pacific Southwest*, 1914; Merritt, Frank Clinton, *History of Alameda County, California*, volume 1, 1926; Thompson, Thomas H., & Co., *Historical Atlas Map of Sonoma County, California*, 1877; Thompson & West, *Historical Atlas Map of Santa Clara County, California*, 1876.

From RICHMOND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE – Whitnah, Joseph C., *A History of Richmond, California*, Published by Richmond Chamber of Commerce, 1944.

From MR. A. S. W. ROSENBACH – Thorp, Willard, *The Lost Tradition of American Letters*, Philadelphia: Privately printed for the Philobiblon Club, 1945.

From LOREN B. TABER, D.D.S. – Taber, Loren B., and Lins, Mary B., *Chloroform, the Earliest Recorded Dental Use in California*. Reprinted from *The Journal of the California State Dental Association*, November-December, 1944.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER – *A Check List Preliminary to a General Catalogue of Books Published before 1700, belonging to the Library of William L. Clements, Bay City, Michigan*, 1920; Flynn, John T., *The Truth about Pearl Harbor*, New York, October 17, 1944; Green, Adam Treadwell, *Seventy Years in California*, Privately Printed, 1923; Howay, Frederic W., *The Early History of the Fraser River Mines*, Victoria, B. C., 1926; Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, *Seventeenth Annual Report*, July 1, 1943-June 30, 1944; *Visitor's Guide to the Exhibitions and Gardens of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery*, Special Edition for the Friends of the Huntington Library, Los Angeles, 1945; Longstaff, Major F. V., *Esquimalt Naval Base, a History of its Work and its Defences*, Victoria, B. C., 1941; McFie, Maynard, *The Gay Nineties*, 1944; Matthews, J. S., *Pilot Commander Don Jose Maria Narvaez, 1791*, 1941; Rosenbach, A. S. W., *The Libraries of the Presidents of the United States*, 1935; Steele, John, *Across the Plains in 1850*, Chicago: Printed for the Caxton Club, 1930; Watson, Douglas S., *An Hour's Walk through Yerba Buena*, San Francisco, 1937.

From MRS. W. A. WOOD – Wilson, Leonard, *The Coat of Arms, Crest and Great Seal of the United States of America*, San Diego, 1928;*The Significance of the Great Seal of the United States of America*, n.d.

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

From MR. HENRY DUTTON – San Francisco *News Letter*, Christmas Club Number, December 23, 1899.

From MR. LEE R. PERRY – San Francisco *Abend Post*, 9 October, 1878.

From MR. D. Q. TROY – *California Highways and Public Works*, volume 23, Nos. 1, 2, January-February, 1945.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER – *Huntington Library Quarterly*, VII, No. 2, February, 1944; VIII, No. 1, November, 1944; VIII, No. 2, February, 1945.

MANUSCRIPTS

From GAYLORD & GAYLORD – Deed to Lot of Ground in Lone Mountain Cemetery to John E. Benton, dated April 17th, 1858; Receipt for City of San Francisco Warrants, May 8, 1858, signed by John E. Benton.

From HON. THOMAS F. PRENDERGAST – Letter from S. J. Duckworth to Thomas O. Larkin, Jr., dated Monterey, Cal., July 3rd, 1896.

From MR. EDWIN J. VALENCIA – Manuel Valencia, Artist, Resumé of his Life and Paintings, typed, together with photostatic copies of newspaper articles.

PICTURES AND MAPS

From MR. R. H. CROSS – Two photographs: Union City, Alameda County, Landing and Warehouses, 1903; First Alameda County Court House, in Alvarado, formerly New Haven, built in 1853.

From FOOTE, CONE & BELDING – Proofs of the four advertisements in the Roos Bros. "Conference" series, 1945.

From MR. HENRY J. HILTON – Three photographs of Lotta Crabtree.

From MRS. BLANCHE L. RICE, MRS. GRACE L. JEWETT, MRS. HAZEL D. HEILBRON – Map of Oakland Harbor; Pictures: Panorama of Oakland; Panorama of Oakland, with streets indicated; Panorama of Lake Merritt, Oakland; Group, California Real Estate Mens Association, 7th Annual Convention, Oakland, 1922 (all framed).

The Society is deeply indebted to Mrs. Frederick Paxson Howard of San Francisco for the gift of a rare and beautiful octagonal fifty-dollar piece, coinage of the United States, made of California gold under imprint of 1852. Two years previous to this date, an act of Congress had resulted in the establishment in San Francisco of a U. S. Assay office, which assumed responsibility for the issuance of money and thereupon put an end to all private coinage then in use in California.

The first fifty-dollar piece to be issued by the new office appeared a year before the date given on Mrs. Howard's coin. In addition to the national designation and emblem, this earlier coin bore on its face the name of the assayer, Augustus Humbert, the rate of fineness (between 880 thous. and 887), and, on the lower right-hand side of the octagon, the word "California." It was alloyed with silver only, and its octagonal shape offered eight corners to wear; hence some irregularity in weight between the various specimens of such coins is to be expected.

The piece presented by Mrs. Howard omits the name of the assayer, noting simply the fact of its issuance by the United States Assay Office, but has the word "San Francisco" in addition to "California." The rate of fineness is given as "800 thous." On the obverse appears a net-like marking of small, oblique mesh. The present value of the gold alone is approximately $85.00.

As to the use of California gold in coinage prior to the 'Fifties, it is interesting to note that gold dust, brought by Mormons from Mormon Island in the American River, had been made into twenty, ten, five, and two-and-a-half dollar pieces by Brigham Young during the winter of 1848-49, to relieve the lack of currency in his new "Zion." (Jacob R. Eckfeld and William E. DuBois, *New Varieties of Gold and Silver Coins . . . ,*" 2nd ed., N. Y.: Putnam, 1851, pp. 8-9, and pl. 4; Reva Holdaway Stanley, "The First Utah Coins Minted from California Gold," this *Quarterly*, XV, 1936, 244-46.)

In passing, we might add that in 1915, during the Panama-Pacific Exposition, souvenir $50 gold coins, octagonal in shape, but differing somewhat in face design from Mrs. Howard's gift, were issued by the United States Mint.

Meetings

The first luncheon meeting of the year 1945 was held on Friday, January 26, at the Palace Hotel in San Francisco, where 96 members of the California Historical Society and their guests listened to a discourse on the Presidio of San Francisco by Mr. Eric A. Falconer, a member of the bar of this city. The speaker's opening remarks were directed towards placing the westward migration into California in its larger relationship; that is, as part of a world movement beginning with the fifteenth-century expansion of Europe through the activities of Portugal, Spain, and the other maritime countries. The transition into a detailed history of a small military post, lying on the extreme shore of the continent that had blocked the expected direct route between Europe and the spice lands of the East, was handled by the speaker with a nice understanding of what the inconsequential aggregation of poorly equipped Presidio soldiers actually represented as a germinal point on a world frontier.

Dr. John D. Hicks, Morrison Professor of History and Dean of the Graduate Division at the University of California, spoke before the Society at its luncheon meeting in the Concert Room of the Palace Hotel on Thursday, April 12th. Ninety-four members and guests listened with great attention to Professor Hicks' thesis, namely, that the history of the state since the Civil War has languished in the pages of the Society's chief organ, the Quarterly, and in other histories of the state; that the eras of the missions and the presidios, of the miners and the vigilantes, important as they are, marked only a beginning; that thereafter California was drawn increasingly into the main currents of history. In other words, as California grew up, her history must be considered as having grown with it. (The reader is referred to the March 1945 Quarterly, where Professor Hicks' address is printed in full.)

Report of the Secretary

For the Year Ended December 31, 1944

In the March Quarterly appeared the annual report of the President for 1944, in which Dr. George D. Lyman gave a full account of the activities of the California Historical Society during his term. This was followed by the Treasurer's report for the same period. A chronology of the luncheon meetings, with the speaker on each occasion; and the list of members who served the Society as Directors and Officers during 1944, will therefore complete the yearly records customarily published in the Quarterly:

Meetings

Six directors' meetings were held during the year, and six luncheon meetings. The first of these luncheon meetings included the annual business meeting of the Society with election of the Board of Directors.

The subjects and speakers at the luncheon meetings were:

January 28 – "California Associations with Washington, D. C., in the 1870's," by Hon. Jackson H. Ralston.

March 16 – "Stevenson and Silverado," by Mrs. Anne Roller Issler.

May 11 – "Early History of Stanford University," by Dr. Donald B. Tressider.

September 28 – "The Geological History of San Francisco Bay," by Dr. George D. Louderback.

October 26 – "Early Banking in California," by Dr. Ira B. Cross.

November 9 – "Is History Becoming Less Interesting?" by Dr. Lynn T. White, Jr.

New Directors and Officers

Directors elected at the Annual Business Meeting of the California Historical Society on January 28, 1944, were as follows: Anson S. Blake, William Cavalier, Allen L. Chickering, Templeton Crocker, Ralph H. Cross, Aubrey Drury, Sidney M. Ehrman, Morton R. Gibbons, Lowell E. Hardy, A. T. Leonard, Jr., George D. Lyman, Mrs. Alfred McLaughlin, C. O. G. Miller, Mrs. George A. Pope, and Walter A. Starr. With the exception of Mrs. Pope, Mr. Cross, and Mr. Cavalier, all were previously members of the Board.

At the first meeting of the Directors after the Society's Annual Meeting in January 1944, the following officers were elected: George D. Lyman, President; Anson S. Blake, First Vice-President; Sidney M. Ehrman, Second Vice-President; Mrs. Alfred McLaughlin, Third Vice-President; Aubrey Drury, Secretary and Treasurer.

Mrs. George A. Pope presented her resignation as a Director on September 6. No successor to Mrs. Pope was chosen.

It is a pleasure to thank the volunteer helpers, Mrs. Guy Giffen, Mrs. James Jenkins, Mrs. L. R. Kennedy, Mrs. W. A. Wood, and Miss Lottie G. Woods, for the able assistance which they gave the staff of the California Historical Society in the many kinds of detailed work connected with the office.

Respectfully submitted,
AUBREY DRURY, *Secretary*

NOTE – In the March Quarterly, page 84, the date affixed to Dr. Lyman's report should read: March 31, 1945.

New Members

Active

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Alfred C. Aitken	Piedmont	William Cavalier
Mrs. Flora Duncan Clark	Pasadena	Miss Mary Corbus
Arthur C. Devlin	Sacramento	Allen L. Chickering
Frank V. Freethy	San Francisco	Membership Committee
H. Nelson French	Sacramento	Allen L. Chickering
Ross H. Gast	Los Angeles	Membership Committee
Carroll D. Hall	Sacramento	George L. Harding and Edgar M. Kahn
Everett D. Ivey	Oakland	William Cavalier
Lt. Comdr. J. H. Kemble	San Francisco	George L. Harding
Lt. Col. Robert S. Smilie	Oakland	Mrs. Guy Giffen
Joseph Todd	Oakland	Ralph H. Cross, Sr.
Jonas F. C. Von Rosen	Belvedere	Membership Committee
Mrs. Allene Edoff Young	Piedmont	William Cavalier

Sustaining

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Leonard F. Carey	Healdsburg	John Howell
Charles Elsey	San Francisco	William Cavalier and Allen L. Chickering

In Memoriam

William Carpenter Latham

William Carpenter Latham, who died March 19, 1945, became a member of the California Historical Society in 1922, and for twenty-three years his interest in its activities never failed.

He was the son of William B. Latham, who arrived in California on the bark "Stafford," August 30, 1849. Soon afterwards the elder Latham settled in Marysville, where he became the agent of the Adams Express Company, and studied law under the distinguished tutelage of Judge Stephen J. Field. Here, on August 22, 1863, William Carpenter Latham was born.

The family removed to San Francisco a few years later, and the rest of Mr. Latham's long life was spent in the bay region. He became an inspector for the United States Customs, a position he held for forty years, retiring only when an accident made it difficult for him to get about.

He held the office of president of the Society of California Pioneers from 1942 to 1944, and was a member of the board of directors of that Society at the time of his death.

Kindly, thoughtful and generous, William Carpenter Latham lived in the letter and the spirit of the pioneers. HELEN S. GIFFEN

Felix S. McGinnis

In the death of Felix S. McGinnis, on March 17, 1945, the state lost one of its able railroad executives and the California Historical Society a valued member. As the Southern Pacific Company's vice-president in charge of system passenger-traffic, Mr. McGinnis did much to promote tourist travel to the Pacific Coast in peacetime and to carry out efficiently the exacting demands of the armed forces during war. So important to California were his services considered that, when the legislature met on March 23rd, a short time after his death, a resolution was adopted to adjourn for the day "in respect to the memory of Felix S. McGinnis."

Mr. McGinnis, who had three sons in the armed services, died in the very midst of solving the many complicated war-transportation problems in the West – he suffered a heart attack on the train and succumbed in the company's hospital in San Francisco shortly afterwards. He was a man who knew the subject of transportation from the bottom up, for he had begun, at the age of seventeen, as an office boy in the Los Angeles freight department of the Southern Pacific. In 1925 he came to San Francisco as passenger-traffic manager for the Pacific lines, four years later being made vice-president, system passenger-traffic director, with offices in San Francisco and Houston. His rise to his many responsible positions in the company was due, it was said, almost as much to his character and genial personality as to his ability and experience.

Although he belonged to a number of clubs, his chief interest, outside of his business, was in his home. He is survived by his wife; two daughters, Claire E. and Amy Ann; and four sons, Lt. Felix S., Jr., USA; Lt. (jg) Carl L., USN; Ensign J. Frank, USN; and Edward.

Felix McGinnis was a man who constantly looked ahead and planned for the future. At the time of his death he was a member of several national railroad committees that were studying postwar improvements in transportation. His voice will be missed in the coming days of readjustment.

Joel W. Kaufmann

Joel W. Kaufmann, an executive of one of San Francisco's large department stores, passed away on February 28, 1945.

Mr. Kaufmann, who was born in Idaho, entered the University of California with the class of 1911. After graduating, he went to work at the Emporium, of which his father, William Kaufmann, was a founder; and, except for a brief period during which he served in the first World War, Joel Kaufmann's entire business career was with this firm. In 1923 he succeeded his father as secretary-treasurer of the Emporium Capwell Company, a position he held until his death. His interest in the business life of the city was apparent in many ways. To cite one example, he was for many years a director of the Better Business Bureau, at one time being president of that organization.

His home was in Atherton, where he spent his spare time in tending his flowers, which he loved. Mr. Kaufmann was also fond of history and took great interest in the affairs of the California Historical Society.

He is survived by his widow, Mrs. Mildred Kaufmann, who resides in Atherton; a son, William Kaufmann; and a daughter, Mrs. John P. Meyers, who lives in New York.

Walter F. Kaplan

Marginalia

The article dealing with Henry George, in this issue, gives the reader a foresight of the pleasure in store in the more extended biography that the author, Charles Albro Barker, is in the process of writing. Professor Barker (Ph.D., Yale, 1932) has been a teacher at Stanford University since 1933 but will leave soon for Johns Hopkins where he has been appointed Professor of American History. He has taught at Smith College, and at Mills College; and is the author of the *Background of the Revolution in Maryland* (Yale, 1940), as well as editor of the *Travels of Elisha Oscar Crosby*, to be published this fall by the Huntington Library.

Marion Clawson, author of "What It Means to Be a Californian," received his B. S. degree in 1926 from the University of Nevada. For three years following his graduation he was connected with the Experiment Station of that university, after which he joined the staff of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics (U. S.), where he is now regional agricultural analyst with headquarters in Berkeley. He has carried on various research projects throughout the United States, especially in the West, and in 1943 was granted a Ph.D. from Harvard for his study of the western range industry. Mr. Clawson was resident consultant to the Littauer School of Public Administration at Cambridge, Mass., during 1942. He is the author of numerous bulletins and articles.

Harry W. Frantz, who wrote "When I Think Back to San Francisco," was in San Francisco as technical assistant in the United States UNCIO delegation. Prior to World War II, Mr. Frantz was a United Press cable editor in Washington, D. C., where he is also at present, directing the press division of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. He has many affiliations in California, having been a Stanford student and later a newspaperman in this state.

Among our new members:

A. G. Aitken's parents came to California in 1877 and settled in Healdsburg where Mr. Aitken was born in 1881. During the first two decades of his life, most of his acquaintances were Forty-Niners or other early settlers, so that as a boy he became interested in the history of the state. This interest has continued, and has been increased further by business and vacation trips, which have taken him not only around California but into Oregon and Nevada.

Carroll D. Hall, who wrote the foreword and biographical sketches in *Heraldry of New Helvetia*, recently issued by the Book Club of California, is the present curator of Sutter's Fort Historical Museum at Sacramento. In 1936 he compiled *Selections from "Prattle"* by Ambrose Bierce (another publication of the Book Club of California), and in 1939 the Colt Press of San Francisco printed Mr. Hall's *Terry-Broderick Duel*, with woodcuts by Mallette Dean.

Dr. Everett D. Ivey passed his early life in Wisconsin, leaving that state to study at the University of Pennsylvania, from which he was graduated in medicine with the class of 1923. Three years later he began practicing in Oakland. Dr. Ivy's interest in California history has been directed especially toward the northern half of the state, as he is the owner of a ranch on the Klamath River.

Charles Elsey's parents came to California in 1849. His father worked for a while in the mines in the Feather River country, later transferring his interests to cattle raising in the Sacrameno Valley. After a considerable residence in the valley at Arbuckle, the family moved to Oakland, where Charles Elsey was born. Mr. Elsey is president of the Western Pacific R. R., and holds other offices, including directorships in the Central California Traction Co., American Trust Co., and Pacific Portland Cement.

Eric A. Falconer, whose name appeared among "New Members" in the March Quarterly, is a San Francisco lawyer and enthusiast of history who occasionally allows himself the stimulus of thinking that the evidence, even on non-mooted points, is not entirely in, and that some hitherto elusive shred may yet be unearthed. Mr. Falconer served in World War I. This gave him increased interest in studying the history of the San Francisco Presidio, about which he talked entertainingly at the Society's luncheon meeting on January 26th.

Ross H. Gast is a collector of material on the Pacific, largely that concerned with old voyages. His library is especially rich in Hawaiiana. From time to time he has published "Historical Miniatures" (one is called "Bonin Islands' Story"; another, "Lew Chew [Ryukyu] Islands") for distribution among his friends. His father, A. A. Gast, was one of the pioneers in the California vegetable industry, and Mr. Ross H. Gast, apparently inheriting this interest, is now editor and publisher of the *Western Grower and Shipper*. He was born in Los Angeles and is still a resident of that city.

Lt. Comdr. J. H. Kemble is a graduate of Stanford and took his Ph.D. at the University of California under Dr. Bolton. Before joining the Navy, where he has been serving on the staff of Admiral Nimitz, Comdr. Kemble was professor of history at Pomona College. His interest in the past lies particularly in the marine history of the West.

Although born in Canada, Lt. Col. Robert S. Smilie has passed practically all of his life in the United States, having come to this country at the age of two. He attended preparatory schools in Oakland and Fortuna, and in 1920 graduated in engineering from the Oregon State College. In World War I he was 1st Lt. in the U. S. Army air corps. Between the two wars he practiced his profession of logging engineer in North Carolina, Louisiana, and Texas, later being engaged in the logging machinery business in San Francisco. With the outbreak of World War II, he again entered the Army air corps and was advanced to the rank he now holds.

Arthur P. Snow (listed in March Quarterly) has vivid memories of Guam, Manila, and Corrigidor which he entered with the United States armed forces forty-seven years ago. He was born in Oakland and educated in the public schools of that city. In 1898 he enlisted with the 2nd Oregon Volunteers in the Spanish-American War. For several months he was ill with fever in Manila, and later suffered a sunstroke at Corrigidor. For ten years thereafter Mr. Snow's health was undermined by this experience, but he finally recovered and established in Fruitvale a cleaning plant which he still operates.

Jonas F. C. Von Rosen, a naval architect and marine engineer, was born in Denmark in 1880 and came to this country at the age of twenty-six. He took out citizenship papers in Oakland in 1915. Later he became chief naval architect at the U. S. Navy Yard, Cavite, P. I., and was a member of the staff of the governor general of those islands. After twenty-six years of service in the Navy he was retired and now makes his home in Belvedere.

Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, famous scholar of the University of California, who honors the California Historical Society by serving on its Publication Committee, is this summer giving a seminar for Mexican historians at the National University in Mexico City, under the auspices of our Department of State. On May 26th last, Dr. Bolton was the recipient of the degree of Doctor of Letters from his Alma Mater, the University of Wisconsin, the occasion also marking, it so happened, the fiftieth anniversary of his graduation from that institution.

Thanks are extended to Walter E. Hansen of Sunnyvale for loaning the Society his collection of California-made boots and shoes, which were on display in the window during the spring, and were not only admired but carefully studied by passing pedestrians. The objects in Mr. Hansen's collection were chiefly of the more durable types, but their workmanship displayed a skill that would have been adapted to the manufacture of footwear for more formal occasions as well.

The historical note accompanying the exhibit called attention to the fact that in Spanish, Mexican, and early mining days hides were shipped from California to New England by way of Cape Horn, and returned to the Pacific Coast in the shape of shoes. By the 'Seventies, however, California had learned to make her own shoes and thus save the expense of the two-way trip. The San Francisco Directory of 1878–9 was cited as follows: "There are fifty-six boot and shoe manufactories in the city, of which twenty-five are operated by Chinese. This branch of industry is now firmly establishd, and the active, enterprising spirit of our manufacturers has demonstrated that in style and quality California-made boots and shoes surpass anything we can obtain from the East. . . "

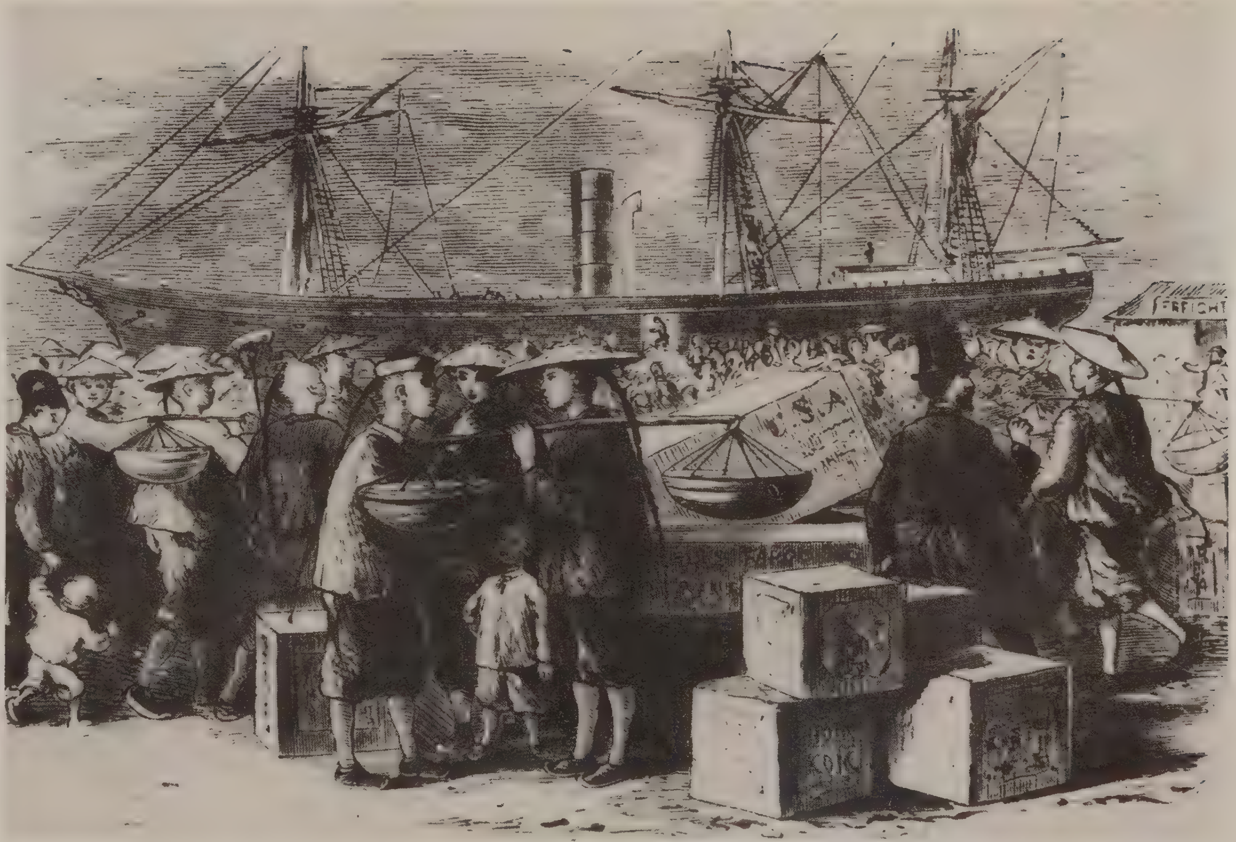
Ross Shoaf, whose election to membership in the Society was announced under *Marginalia* in the December Quarterly, has written us of his experiences overseas, where he was sent as a traffic engineer for the U. S. Army. His letter from Washington, written shortly after arriving there in January 1945, describes a conference he had with a former president of the Institute of Traffic Engineers. It says, in part: "We discussed new methods of conducting Origin and Destination Studies as well as Parking Studies by sample interviews in each Census Tract. A number of these surveys are well under way in cities throughout the United States and a lot of good is being accomplished for those cities. We talked in particular about freeway planning and operation, and it was surprising how familiar they were with the situation in San Francisco. They definitely believe that traffic problems and freeway planning should be emphasized in urban areas, because it is there that the major flow of vehicles is. They believe that freeway design should be such that the cities within which a freeway passes should receive as much use from the freeway as possible and above all they feel that distribution is one of the most important issues of all freeway design. This is because freeways have great attracting power and tend to induce a large amount of brand new traffic flow. This concentration, therefore, must be carefully distributed if great congestion is to be avoided. That is why I was so intent upon San Francisco making a concentrated study of the distribution problems at the same time the State is studying and planning for the Freeway."

[In conversation with one of the congressmen about the proper allocation of Federal aid for streets and highways in urban areas, some of the traffic needs in San Francisco were said to be: the freeway, another bay bridge, the Divisional Highway, and a better Marin connection with the Golden Gate Bridge.]

Another letter, dated February 17, 1945, this time from Paris, begins: "I can't quite remember when I last wrote to you but I'm sure it was before I received my permanent assignment. I have now been assigned to the Transportation Headquarters in Paris as the Highway Traffic Engineer. . . "

"Oh, Columbia, the Gem . . . "

As we go to press, the editors of the Quarterly acknowledge with pleasure the receipt of a communication from the General Committee in charge of celebrating the signing of the Senate Bill, which officially designates Columbit ("gem," this time, of the land – specifically, of the Southern Mother Lode Mines) as a part of the State Park System. According to the communication, Governor Earl Warren, members of the State Park Commission headed by Joseph Knowland, together with William Cavalier, president of the California Historical Society, Grand Officers of the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West, and others concerned with treasuring the memories of the State's past, will participate in the formal exercises marking this important occasion.


FREIGHT
U.S.A.

EMIGRANTS LEAVING CHINA

From Russell H. Conwell, *Why and How*, Boston, 1871.

Foundations of California Rural Society

By Paul S. Taylor

FULL length across a building devoted by the State University to the study of agriculture, stands this dedication: "To rescue for human society the native values of rural life." Benjamin Ide Wheeler, who had been called from the East at the end of the nineteenth century to assume the presidency of the University of California, wrote the words. They appeal to the deepest traditions of a people who stem from the land, who barely five generations ago at the birth of the nation were almost city-less.

That dedication sticks in men's minds and raises questions: What values? Why do they need rescue? In danger of what, is that rural life which is said to nourish them? Once when he was addressing a convention of agricultural scientists Wheeler furnished a clue to his own answers. "Our business ultimately is a sociological business," he told them. "Considerations of soil technology but scratch the surface. What we are busied with here is trying to find out how to adjust the soil to the use of families." Wheeler was speaking in the stream of American tradition which holds that land is for the support of what Theodore Roosevelt called "working farmers," actual settlers who, with their families, make homes on the land. It is a tradition forged in the heat of American political controversy. The blows which gave it shape were those which hammered out the Pre-emption Act of 1841 to protect the rights of squatters against speculators, and which forced through the Homestead Act of 1862 to facilitate acquisition of quarter-sections by those who would work them. They were the same kind of blows which achieved the National Reclamation Law of 1902 to extend this national policy to western areas prepared by public funds for irrigation.

Ever since American rule superseded Mexican, California has found its agriculture lying outside this American farm tradition. Skill, organization, development, magnitude, all these have been worked into her State agricultural history. But, unlike the nation, California has not placed at the head of her agricultural goals, the achievement of a satisfactory relation between land and the families who labor upon it. That is, she has not placed enough emphasis upon this to achieve it.

This divergence from national policy has not survived because Californians generally willed their agriculture to be different. On the contrary, they have condemned it repeatedly, and struggled against it over and over again, whenever it came into the light of political forums where such issues are examined. From time to time Californians have sought to reshape their agricultural society because they were not satisfied with it, but they never achieved more than limited successes. Perhaps this was in the mind of Benjamin Ide Wheeler when he wrote the dedication of Hilgard Hall, for like many another Californian by adoption, he had grown up surrounded by the national tradition.

During the second half of the nineteenth century at least five occasions of great debate were used by Californians to give serious public consideration to the very foundations of their rural society. In each one of the periods of debate, the points specifically at issue had their own peculiar character; naturally these received formulation appropriate each to its situation and the times. At the bottom and throughout, the question was always the same: What kind of rural society do Californians want?

1. The constitutional convention of 1849 and the national Congress in deliberation over admission of California as a State furnished the theaters for the first occasion of debate.

Issue: *Should California enter the Union slave or free?*

2. The second debate permeated the public life of the State for decades appearing in the early 1850's, reaching a climax in the late 1870's, and reappearing very briefly in the early 1890's.

Issue: *Should measures be taken to import or to restrict Chinese immigrants?*

3. The State constitutional convention of 1879 provided the third forum.

Issue: *Should measures to curb land monopoly be written into the new State Constitution?*

4. The fourth public dispute boiled over following the decision of Lux *vs.* Haggin in 1886 and ran its course through the newspapers, public conventions, and sessions of the legislature.

Issue: *Should measures be enacted by the legislature to break the water monopoly which had been legalized by decision of the Supreme Court?*

5. The fifth occasion for public deliberation was furnished by a great western movement which finally opened the federal treasury in 1902 in order to subsidize irrigation of the arid lands of the West.

Issue: *Should measures be adopted to prevent land and water monopoly in areas brought under irrigation with funds from the national treasury?*

This paper deals with the debates over slave and free labor, and with those on the immigration of Chinese laborers.

I. SHOULD CALIFORNIA ENTER THE UNION SLAVE OR FREE?

The first expressions which show the choice of the kind of agricultural society Americans wanted to prevail in California were registered before agriculture had developed there, and while many still believed that cultivation of the soil in California had little future.

Even before California began formally to seek admission to the Union as a State, men were making up their minds. Slavery had been abolished in the province by Mexico long before in 1829, and the American military commander, shortly after assuming control, issued a proclamation against involuntary servitude among Indians. Two newspapers, the *Californian* and the *Star*, both opposed slavery with vigor, and went even further to object to the importation of free blacks. "We have nothing to create sickness, and nothing to call for a class of laborers forming an unfortunate caste in society, of a color unlike that of the proprietors of the soil," proclaimed the *Star*. "It would make it disreputable for the white man to labor for his bread, and it would thus drive off to other homes the only class of emigrants California wishes to see; the sober and industrious middle class of society. We would, therefore, on the part of ninety-nine hundredths of the population of this country, most solemnly protest against the introduction of this blight upon the prosperity of the home of our adoption. We should look upon it as an unnecessary moral, intellectual, and social curse upon ourselves and posterity." [1]

The labor question became a major issue in the constitutional convention held in 1849.

Whether California society was to be based upon an inferior labor caste formed of slaves or freedmen was no academic question. The delegates believed that slaves would be brought to California if permitted and they discussed the prospect, not as remote possibility but as imminent fact. "I have in my possession letters, received by the last steamer, from gentlemen prominent in the State of Maryland," declared one delegate, "informing me, and asking my advice as to the effect, of their intention to come here in the spring with a large number of negroes, to be emancipated on the condition of serving them six or twelve months in the mines." [2]

As in the preceding remarks of the delegate, the words used on the floor of the California convention were in reference to labor in a mining society, not in agriculture. In retrospect, the feasibility of developing agriculture in California by means of employment of an inferior labor caste is plain to be seen, but it was otherwise while admission to the Union was under discussion. The delegates to the convention had their thoughts fixed upon the glorious prospect of the mines, for then the gold rush was just getting well under way. Agriculture was neglected by the Americans, and its development in the hands of the native Californians and few foreigners had gone scarcely beyond the pastoral stage. The future society of California, it was easy for the delegates to believe, was to be based upon mining, rather than upon agriculture. And so it happened that the design for California's future society was discussed not in language applied to agriculture, but rather to a developing society of gold miners.

Nevertheless it was the conception of an agricultural society to be based upon either free or slave labor which dominated the debate, even when agriculture was not mentioned. For the American delegates all had come from States where slave and free labor were understood as alternative forms of agricultural labor, and their views necessarily were derived largely from their own past. The very arguments advanced in convention against slavery in mining held close parallel to those employed against slavery in agriculture in the eastern States at the same period. So it came about in constitutional convention that the design for a California agricultural society not yet in being was chosen in the remembered images of an older agriculture which lay many hundreds of miles to the east. While mining was in the front of the delegates' minds, agriculture was in the back.

Today it seems far-fetched to draw an analogy between a society built on gold mining and a society resting on agriculture; in 1849 it was not, for the rush of miners to the unworked placer deposits in the foothills – except that the miners left families behind and held hopes of quicker wealth – was like the rush of farmers to virgin land on the frontier. In each of these human surges men were seeking to carve out a livelihood under their own direction and by the work of their own hands.

The prospect of competition with slave laborers – or even with freedmen – filled the free laborers in the mines with two great dreads. They feared that manual work such as they performed would become dishonorable and therefore would be avoided by white men. They feared also that economic competition from unremunerated slave labor would drive out free working miners like themselves who demanded a standard of living higher than slaves received. These two apprehensions were exact counterparts of the historic objections of working farmers to slavery in agriculture, viz., that it rendered work dishonorable and that it drove working farmers from the choicest lands, to place them in the hands of slave-owning planters.

Among those who expressed the fear that presence of slaves would degrade labor was a delegate who had come to California from Louisiana. "Sir," he said, "in the mining districts of this country we want no such competition. The labor of the white man brought into competition with the labor of the negro is always degraded. There is now a respectable and intelligent class of population in the mines; men of talent and education; men digging there in the pit with the spade and pick, who would be amply competent to sit in these halls. Do you think they would dig with the African? No, sir, they would leave this country first." [3] Delegate Tefft, who had come to California from New York and Wisconsin, made the same point. "Men, sir, who are every way competent to sit in the halls of this Convention, to assist in forming laws for California, are now working in the placers. There are men of intelligence and education, laboring there with the pick and shovel – men who, at home, were accustomed to all the refinements of life. . . . They are working willingly, and they do not consider it a degradation to engage in any department of industry which will afford an adequate remuneration. But will this state of things continue –

will this class of population continue to work cheerfully and willingly if you place them side by side with the negro?"[4]

The same delegate expressed fear that slaveholders would establish a monopoly over mining. "White men," he said, "would be unable, even if willing, to compete with the bands of negroes who would be set to work under the direction of capitalists. It would become a monopoly of the worst character. The profits of the mines would go into the pockets of single individuals. The labor of intelligent and enterprising white men who, from the want of capital, are compelled to do their own work, would afford no adequate remuneration."[5]

These two arguments, applied to mining by forty-niners who regarded themselves as independent laborers, and wanted to remain so, were characteristic of the working farmers of the period. In California they were voiced by delegates of both northern and southern background.

Members of the convention saw clearly that it was not simply a question of legal status. The danger lay in the existence of a caste system of labor, whether the subordinate group was enslaved by law or not. Their objections included any labor of low standards which might be made to form a separate class. So they opposed introduction of laborers, whether slave or free, who might be formed into a permanent labor class. Slavery, peonage, or color might contribute to or aggravate the evil, but it was the fact of caste in labor which itself would constitute the evil. "The relation of master and servant never has existed in the country," declared the memorial of the convention to Congress.

A strong effort was made within the convention to go beyond prohibition of slavery and to exclude from California all negroes whether free or bond. "I am opposed to the introduction into this country of negroes, peons of Mexico, or any class of that kind; I care not whether they are free or bond," declared delegate Tefft. . . . "Here are thousands upon thousands of enterprising, able, and intelligent young men, leaving their homes and coming to California. They cannot all devote themselves to digging gold in the placers here; they will be compelled to turn their attention to other branches of industry; and if you do not degrade white labor there will not be the slightest difficulty in obtaining white men to labor. But there will be a difficulty if they are to work with negroes."[6]

Delegate Wozencraft, who had lived in Louisiana, was equally emphatic. "For, depend upon it, sir," he said, "so soon as they come among us, though we have a clause prohibiting slavery, they will be slaves to all intents and purposes . . . If we wish to avoid placing them in a position of servitude, we must exclude them. We must never bring them in competition with our own labor, for if we do, they cannot maintain an equality with the white man; and they will either become slaves in effect, or we must give up our white labor."[7]

Arguments against free workers who might be used to form an inferior labor caste ran in about the same channels as argument against bondsmen. Thus to the fear of degradation of work itself was added the fear that controlled laborers, even if free, would become the instruments of a monopoly by those who controlled them. "I think, if we wish to protect the citizens of California in any thing," Wozencraft said, "we should protect them in the right to labor – one of the most inestimable of all rights. We should protect them against the monopolies of capitalists who would bring their negroes here. We should protect them against a class of society that would degrade labor, and thereby arrest the progress of enterprise and greatly impair the prosperity of the State." [8]

The debate against admission of free negroes was not without race prejudice, but the opposition did not rest so much upon that as it was grounded upon economic fears and deep-seated philosophical objections to a rigidly stratified society. "Every member of society should be on a level with the mass – able to perform his appropriate duty," declared Wozencraft. "Having his equal rights, he should be capable of maintaining those rights, and aiding in their equal diffusion to others. There should be that equilibrium in society which pervades all nature, and that equilibrium can only be established by acting in conformity with the laws of nature. There should be no incongruities in the structure; it should be a harmonious whole, and there should be no discordant particles, if you would have a happy unity." [9]

There was a minority in California which held the desire to have an inferior labor caste, but it was small and it was wholly ineffective in framing the popular decision of 1849. Sentiment against slavery was too overwhelming in the convention for its members even to make a fight. Only fourteen of forty-eight delegates were from the southern states, and not all of these favored slavery. The additional attempt to bar free negroes from California failed to carry, but this failure was not because of the strength of those who desired a labor caste. The proposal actually passed in committee of the whole. It was defeated by the self-restraint of those opposed to caste, after arguments which emphasized the danger of congressional rejection of the application of California for admission to the Union, and the inconsistency of race discrimination with the declarations on freedom and equality adopted in the draft of the state constitution and with similar provisions of the federal constitution.[10]

According to the new constitution, then, freedmen might come to California, although hostility to their presence and costly distance were serious obstacles to these poverty-stricken laborers. And besides, the minority which wanted to have a labor caste was not without other ideas how its original ends might yet be accomplished. Defeated in the convention, this minority laid the political ground-work for a possible "ultimate division of the State, in case the southern part should prove to be adapted to slave life." [11] Still another way to establish a caste already had suggested itself in the arrival of the very first few laborers from China. As early as November 4, 1848, a correspondent of the *Californian* had proposed the use of Chinese imported on contract, "who if well treated will work faithfully for low wages." [12] How large this possibility – which Fuller calls "an alternative by which the benefits of slavery might be enjoyed without some of the external appearances of the system" – loomed at the time in the minds of those who wanted cheap labor, is difficult to say. A generation afterwards in 1879, a Californian went so far as to assert that this prospect of obtaining Chinese was the main reason why southerners in California assented to prohibition of slavery. "Well do I remember when the question of a free or slave constitution was agitated in this State," he said. "The men from New England and the men south of Mason and Dixon's line stood shoulder to shoulder for a free constitution, and the only real fact that controlled and carried the election was, that China would furnish us cheap labor, and the supply only limited by the demand." [13] Whether or not this was the overstatement that it appears to be, it is true that barely two years elapsed after admission of California to the Union until an attempt was made to obtain consent of the legislature to enforcement of contracts to labor signed by workers imported from China.

The constitutional convention in California having declared unequivocally for a society founded upon free labor, the national Congress was called upon to decide whether or not it would accept a new state upon that basis. This was difficult for Congress to decide, for while the question of admitting California to the Union was under debate the foremost issue before the nation was the balance of power between slave and free states. Men in Congress from both North and South were doubly concerned, therefore. The decision was not simply one that would set the pattern of society for a new state; it would also tilt the national scales of power in Congress.

An effort was made, because this issue of power was so overshadowing, to minimize the importance of the decision of the California constitutional convention against slavery. The elected senators and representatives from California, as they were waiting to be seated in Congress upon admission of the state, explained in a memorial to Congress that the unanimity of opinion against slavery in the California convention "is believed to result not so much from the prejudices against the system . . . as from a universal conviction that in no portion of California is the climate and soil of a character adapted to slave labor." [14] In Congress, senators Henry Clay of Kentucky, Shields of Illinois, and others argued upon this ground that the issue of California slave or free was largely academic. The purpose was to convey an impression to southern representatives that the decision of the convention deprived slaveholders of no substantial economic opportunity and did not constitute evidence of hostility to the institution of slavery which future representatives from California, if admitted, might wield in Congress against the South.

This attempt to deprive the issue over slavery in California of substance, failed. Among those southern senators who refused to accept it, and its corollary that the declaration against slavery in California was an empty gesture, was Jefferson Davis of Mississippi. Senator Davis asserted that slave labor was certainly desirable and probably necessary to success in the development of California agriculture, and it was suited to development of mining as well.

"One of the positions laid down by the honorable Senator from Kentucky, and which he denominated as one of his two truths," said Davis, "was, that slavery was excluded from the Territories of California and New Mexico by a decree of Nature. From that opinion I dissent. I hold that the pursuit of gold-washing and mining is better adapted to slave labor than to any other species of labor recognized among us, and is likely to be found in that new country for many years to come. I also maintain that it is particularly adapted to an agriculture which depends upon irrigation." Then he proceeded to reject the traditional working farmer and to proclaim instead the necessity of slave labor in irrigated agriculture. "Till the canals are cut, ditches and dams made," he continued, "no person can reclaim the soil from Nature; an individual pioneer cannot settle upon it with his family, and support them by the product of his own exertion, as in the old possessions of the United States, where rain and dew unite with a prolific soil to reward freely and readily the toil of man. It is only by associated labor that such a country can be reduced to cultivation. They have this associated labor in Mexico under a system of peonage. That kind of involuntary servitude, for debt I suppose, cannot long continue to exist under American institutions; therefore the only species of labor that can readily supply its place under our Government would, I think, be the domestic servitude of African slavery; and therefore I believe it is essential, on account of the climate, productions, soil, and the peculiar character of cultivation, that we should during its first settlement have that slavery in at least a portion of California and New Mexico."

Then Senator Davis, having denied any decree of nature against slavery in California, endeavored to find another decree of nature that might lend support to his side of the argument. "It is also true," he claimed, "that in certain climates only the African race are adapted to work in the sun."[15]

Senator Mason of Virginia likewise regarded the prospect of slave labor in California as a bona fide opportunity. Although neglecting to mention agriculture, he stated it as his belief that slaveholders would already have taken their property to California "in great numbers" under a more favor-ing attitude there. "They would have done so," he said, "because the value of the labor of that class would have been augmented to them many hundred fold. Why, in the debates which took place in the convention of California which formed the constitution, a calculation was gone into with reference to the value of the labor of this class of people, showing that it would be increased to such an extent in the mines of California that they could not be kept out. It was agreed that the labor of a slave in any one of the States from which they would be taken was not worth more than one hundred or one hundred and fifty dollars a year, and that in California it would be worth from four to six thousand dollars." [16]

In the House, Representative Clingman of North Carolina was equally emphatic about opportunity for slavery in mining. He declared that "but for the anti-slavery agitation, slaveholders would have carried their negroes into the mines of California in such numbers, that I have no doubt but that the majority there would have made it a slaveholding State. We have been deprived of all chance of this by the northern movements, and by the action of this House, which has, by Northern votes, repeatedly, from time to time, passed the Wilmot proviso, so as in effect to exclude our institution, without the actual passage of a law for that purpose." [17]

Representative Howard, of Texas, was indignant that the people of California in convention should have "monopolized" their State for free labor, to the exclusion of slavery. "This action in California by a handful of men," he charged, "excludes the South from the whole Pacific coast, running through some ten degrees of latitude, and embracing the whole Pacific country of any real value. The justice of permitting a few persons thus to monopolize an empire, which they cannot occupy, to the expulsion of one half of the States of the Union, cannot readily be apprehended. Within reasonable and legitimate boundaries, first ascertained, the people of a Territory, when forming a State, have a right to prescribe their own domestic institutions; but a few men or inhabitants have no right or power to monopolize large tracts of the public domain for an indefinite period of time, which they cannot enjoy, and encumber it with their political institutions." [18]

In the eyes of northerners in Congress as well as in California, of course the spread of free labor created no "monopoly," nor was the institution of free labor an "encumbrance." Their demand was for protection of free labor from the competition of owners of slave labor, not the protection of capitalistic slave-owners from the competition of independent free laborers. "It is not protection to capital," declared Representative George Julian of Indiana, "but protection to man's rights, protection to the hand that labors, that should invoke the action of the Government. It is not protection to American manufactures, but protection to American *men*, that I would now advocate; and, like the founders of the Government, I would make it the starting point in politics, the great central truth in my political creed, to which questions of mere policy should be subordinate."[19]

Caught in the vortex of this struggle over national power and over desire for new opportunity for the employment of human labor which was property, congressional debate ran the full gamut of arguments of the day on the slavery question. Admission of California as a free state became an occasion to air disagreements on everything from the religious basis of slavery to the right of states to secede from the Union. It afforded an outlet for growing sectional tensions, and created an extensive contemporary documentation of men's views on patterns proper to human societies. Victory in the admission of California, like victory later in the War Between the States, went to those in Congress who wanted a society based on free labor. If in most of the debate the talk was of a mining society, some of it equally emphatic was directed to agriculture. In either case, equally, the kind of society in California which Congress would support in 1850 was clear.

II. SHOULD MEASURES BE TAKEN TO IMPORT OR TO RESTRICT CHINESE IMMIGRANTS?

Dispute over a cheap labor caste of negroes had not ended before argument over a cheap labor caste of Chinese began. In the very year when the first Chinese arrived in California, someone saw the possibility that they could be used to lower the price of labor to employers. On November 4, 1848, as noted earlier, the *Californian* carried this statement from a correspondent: "If white labor is too high for agriculture, laborers on contract may be brought from China, or elsewhere, who if well treated will work faithfully for low wages." No steps were taken in this direction immediately. At that time all energies available for economic activity were being absorbed by the rush to the mines; all differences of opinion about who should perform labor were engulfed in the political conflict over slave *vs.* free labor, and over admission *vs.* debarment from California of those free men whose color might facilitate their subjugation to a lower order of laborers.

Use of Chinese had received its first official encouragement from Governor John McDougal, a Californian of southern birth, "a representative of southern feeling, a representative of southern interests." The first political move came in 1852 in the form of a bill in the legislature to make enforceable in California any contracts to labor made in China and the Pacific Islands. This proposal to introduce Chinese and Island laborers was supported by the allegation that "labor is too high," i.e., by the argument of "necessity." The mining interest, which was affected most directly, became hostile immediately. The miners wanted wages to be high, and their views found quick and vigorous expression in a Senate minority report. "With 'free mines,' for everyone to work them, the wages of labor have kept at a higher rate than is paid in any of the Atlantic States, and its effect has been to bring here thousands from every State in the Union," said the report. "No law, therefore, ought to be passed, giving any one the command of labor at lower rates, or for longer terms, or with greater power than now prevails." [20]

The minority report recognized that mines and land were similar, and declared for the same democratic type of society in both. "The mines and public lands are, by the policy of the General Government and our own laws, the inheritance of the people," it continued. " . . . Thus far, the ground work for raising an intelligent and independent class of laboring citizens has been laid and we should not degrade our work by placing the labor of their hands upon an equality with that of bondmen.

"I apprehend that this is the first time that a bill for obtaining 'cheap labor' has ever been introduced into a State, the majority of whose people, directing the government, live by the toil of their own hands."

The author of the minority report held a curious idea that it might be possible to admit laborers of a lower caste to a particular occupation on particular lands without introducing competition between them and other laborers, whether on other lands or elsewhere. Thus it would be possible to make a political concession, without apparent violation of his own principles. "If there be a necessity for its introduction," he continued, meaning perhaps "pressure" rather than "necessity," "it should be under such enactments as to prevent its competition with the labor of our own people. It cannot be expected that a law of this character shall be passed, opening every branch of labor to a competition which exists only by virtue of the law, without directing that it shall only be lawful to employ such laborers in industrial pursuits *not now followed by our people.*

"There is ample field for its employment in draining the swamp lands, in cultivating rice, raising silk, or planting tea. Our State is supposed to have great natural advantages for those objects; but if these present not field enough for their labor, then sugar, cotton and tobacco invite their attention.

"For these special objects, I have no objection to the introduction of the contract laborers, provided they are excluded from citizenship; for those staples cannot be cultivated without 'cheap labor'; but from all other branches I would recommend its exclusion." [21]

A few newspapers were sympathetic to the introduction of Chinese contract laborers. The Stockton *Republican* in early March, 1852, saw favorable prospects in using them to reclaim tule lands for cultivation of tea and rice. "These emigrants are, as a class," it declared, "the best people we have amongst us – they are sober, quiet, industrious, and inoffensive . . . Thousands of these men are ready to become citizens of the United States, settle down, and turn our waste lands into beautiful fields, as soon as proper inducements and protection is afforded them, and no better class of men could be chosen to develop the agricultural resources of the Tulare Valley than the Chinese who are among us." [22]

This view failed to gain popular support, for the feeling against any increase in the number of Chinese laborers was growing. A committee on the governor's special message dealing with Asiatic immigration about the same time reflected the popular temper in the phrasing of its references to "coolies and other foreign serfs," who "come here as serfs or hirelings of a master" imported "in direct opposition to all those principles of equality so deeply implanted in the mind of every true born American." "We want no subordinate grades in a *free* State, where all men should be freemen," it declared.[23]

On the evening of the day in mid-March of 1852 when the contract labor bill passed the Assembly, "the citizens of Sacramento held an indignation meeting and remonstrated in strong language against it, not forgetting to assure its authors, aiders and supporters in the Legislature that they would be followed to their political graves by the public opprobrium and dissatisfaction." [24]

The weight of the press was falling on the same side. It had "opened in full cry" and "with a most liberal display of patriotism, made a tremendous onslaught upon this contract law." [25] The San Francisco *Picayune* published on March tenth an editorial under the title "Peonism in California" in which it declared: "Now that it has become a settled fact that the public will neither sanction the fugitive slave bill, lately passed by the House of Assembly, nor the attempt openly avowed to overturn the Constitution, and make this a slave State, another movement has just been made to introduce among us a system of modified slavery resembling Mexican peonism." [26] A few days later another editorial elaborated the attack. "California is peculiarly the country of the laborer," it said. "In the mines, the hardy working man, inured to wielding the tools of industry, has the advantage over his toiling neighbor, unused to work . . . .

"There is a restless desire on the part of some of our legislators to procure labor much below the current prices. This desire has manifested itself in various ways since the beginning of the session; but the plausible scheme to secure 'cheap labor,' under consideration, throws entirely into the shade the other attempts that have been made to affect the interests of the working man in almost every industrial pursuit, and more particularly the farmer of small means. If this law prevails, its effects will immediately be felt in two interests – first, in the compensation for labor in the mines; and secondly, on the agricultural lands.

"Is any one so simple as to doubt that capitalists will avail themselves of its provisions to import crowds of cheap laborers here to work the mines, to the exclusion and rejection of the citizens now employed there? And will not these capitalists, by some scheme or another, eventually monopolize, to a great extent, most of the best mining grounds, to the exclusion of poorer or less grasping men? In the next place, is it not equally plain, that in agricultural enterprises it will tend to build up a large monopoly, to the injury of men of small means, who do their own work? The man who is so simple, or so mole-eyed, as not to see that these would be the first consequences of the measure, is either to be pitied or despised." [27]

The Sacramento *Union* characterized the bill as likely, together with another also under consideration, "to throw into the hands of speculators and capitalists, a means of monopoly and injustice that would induce animosities and confusions, if not perpetual riots and difficulties." [28]

Under this heavy attack, which repeated the main arguments used against slavery in the consitutional convention of 1849, and against admission of free Negroes or Mexican peons, the Chinese contract labor bill went down to defeat. Although the assembly had passed it the public demonstration, the newspaper editorials, and the minority report were effective in the Senate.

This defeat signified again, by public declaration, the intentions of the people of California to establish the kind of mining and agricultural society they wanted, a society of working miners and farmers without caste. But even this was insufficient to check the influx of Chinese laborers or to dampen the enthusiasms of those who thought to build large agricultural enterprises upon cheap labor. Barely two years after failure of the contract labor bill, the California *Farmer* painted a prospect of growing cotton, rice, tobacco, sugar, tea, and coffee, and asked "Then where shall the laborers be found?" Immediately the *Farmer* supplied its own answer: "The Chinese! And everything tends to this – those great walls of China are to be broken down and that population, educated, schooled and drilled in the cultivation of these products are to be to California what the African has been to the South." [29]

The State of California did not adopt this view of the *Farmer*. On the contrary, in the very next year, 1855, it levied a tax of $50 a head on Chinese brought into the state. The statute was declared unconstitutional by the courts, but its purpose to put an end to cheap labor was clear.

In California the development of small farms had proceeded less rapidly than the rise of independent miners. Consequently the political interest prepared to oppose Chinese labor in agriculture was less numerous and substantial than the political interest that existed in the mines. Like the minority select committeemen of the Senate in 1852 who opposed contract labor but was willing to make concession on the tule lands, an Assembly committee now indicated that its opposition, too, was weaker, provided it could be sure the Chinese labor caste could be kept out of the mines. "Your committee believe," it said in 1855, "that the only place in our State where the Chinese could be of any permanent advantage to the country, would be in the reclamation and cultivation of the Tule lands, but does any one for a moment suppose that they will ever settle in the Tules and work in the mud among the mosquitoes and frogs, so long as they are allowed the privilege of working our mines and breath our pure mountain air?"[30]

These repeated declarations against establishment of an inferior caste of laborers could not down the desires of those who wanted to obtain it. In the very midst of the War Between the States, in which cheap slave labor was at issue, a joint select committee of the legislature boldly issued an appeal for cheap labor on the ground that this was necessary if the resources of California were to be developed. "With cheap labor we could supply all our own wines and liquors, besides sending large quantities abroad," said the committee. "Turning from the grape, let us dwell a moment upon the production of rice, tea, sugar, tobacco, and dried fruits of every description, such as figs, raisins, etc., etc., all of which can be easily grown within the State, and soon will be commenced, if we encourage cheap labor from abroad to cultivate our waste luxuriant soil." It pointed out also that the usefulness of Chinese for sheep-raising, an "interest, yet to be created, infringing upon no existing class of labor, would afford occupation for thousands of Chinamen, associated with as many or more whites, and prove a mutual and public blessing." Instead of driving them from the entire State, bounties might be offered the Chinese laborers, suggested the committee, to cultivate rice, tea and tobacco; they could be used to prepare the tule lands for crops "without coming in competition with white labor," i.e., without visible competition.

"To develop her latent resources," the report continued, "and vitalize all her powers, we need sound, liberal, farseeing Legislators; men who can mould and harness *all* inferior races to work out and realize our grand and glorious destiny." "It is charged that the Chinese demoralize the whites. We cannot find any ground for the allegation. We adopt none of their habits; form no social relations with them; do not intermarry with them; but keep them separate and apart . . . "

"They work for us; they help us build up our State, by contributing largely to our taxes, to our shipping, farming, and mechanical interests, without, to any extent, entering these departments as competitors; they are denied privileges equal with other foreigners; they cannot vote nor testify in Courts of Justice, nor have a voice in making our laws, nor mingle with us in social life. Certainly we have nothing to fear from a race so contemned and restricted . . . "[31]

Thus the demands of those who wanted a labor caste in agriculture never ceased, despite the successive public decisions against it. Politics and time worked in their favor. The core of resistance to the entry of Chinese into agriculture was weak, the demand for them strong. Mining interests, although generally opposed in principle, stood with less firmness against introduction of caste to an industry that was not their own, one in which few white men were yet engaged as laborers. Besides, there may have been the thought that if agriculture were opened to the Chinese, perhaps then they would be less numerous in the mines. And year by year new thousands of Chinese were arriving, ready to be employed by men with capital and land. The supplies of cheap labor were being created while men were debating and usually saying no.

The latter part of the 1870's witnessed increasing popular pressure to exclude Chinese cheap laborers. Many elements of the community – laborers, working farmers, and unattached citizens – took aggressive positions against those employing interests which wanted unlimited supplies of laborers fresh from China. The press filled its columns with debate, and a Joint Special Committee of Congress provided a conspicuous forum in which all views were elaborated and brought within public focus.

The attitude of large landowners toward employing cheap labor never was stated during this period with greater clarity and frankness than in the testimony of Colonel W. W. Hollister in 1876. Other landowners shared his views wholly or in part, but none set them forth so fully in the public record. Hollister at one time or another had owned 318,000 acres of land in California. When he testified before the Committee, he was owner of about 75,000 acres near Santa Barbara which he said he held as "speculator," grazing sheep upon it and farming a part. Hollister came by his views honestly. Born and raised in the mid-west, where he was surrounded by small farms, nevertheless he was both by inheritance and by his own enterprise an exception to this farm pattern. From his family he received a thousand acres in a region where quarter sections were the rule. To this he added an additional thousand, and engaged in merchandising besides.

Hollister's creed was simple: he wanted more and cheaper labor. "I think the wealth of the country will be due to the advent of cheap labor," he said. Speaking as a farmer, so he told the committee, "I cannot succeed with the labor I have today, even including the best of Chinamen, with the most I can get out of them, for the simple reason that the price of labor is nearly double what any employment of labor on a farm will justify. Today the price of labor in California precludes the possibility of success in any work." "Labor is twice what it is worth; it is a dollar a day and board . . . There is not . . . a farm in the State that will stand over fifty cents a day." [32] Asked whether any legal limitation should be placed upon Chinese immigration, he replied, "No, sir; I would open the door and let everybody come who wants to come." "I say, fully, freely, and emphatically, that the Chinese should be allowed to come until you get enough here to reduce the price of labor to such a point as that its cheapness will stop their coming." [33]

Until such time as the supply should cease to come because of the fall in wages, Hollister was for active measures to bring in more laborers. "Why send away the Chinaman?" he asked rhetorically. "I would send for more and more, till every enterprising American can get help enough at prices that will admit of continued undertakings, and then the country would once more start on its career of progress. The Chinamen can and would solve for us of California the problem, if they were allowed to come in sufficient numbers to create competition among themselves for positions. As it is and has been, the competition is among employers. Two or three employers were after every Chinaman here, even at high wages, and so high prices have been maintained." [34]

Except for this action to bring in more laborers until "every enterprising American" was satisfied that he had employed as many as were advantageous to him, Hollister was an exponent of the principle of letting things alone. "The thing must regulate itself like all other laws," he said. Later Hollister was to invoke an authority even higher than an ordinary "law," or principle of economy, for this belief that to let things alone was best. "The price of labor cannot be fixed arbitrarily," he was quoted as saying. "It is as much governed by natural law as the growth of plants or the running of waters. You may arrest, but cannot stay its progress. The sun will shine, rivers will roll, and oceans will forever heave and sigh . . . when Congress stops the Chinaman it will have arraigned the Maker of natural law, under the charge that He has made a mistake or done a wrong." "Under the impulse of that natural law that supply will follow demand came the only one ready to come, the Chinaman," he continued; "under the impulse of *social* law we shut the door in his face.

"*When social rules of action best accord with natural, progress is most certain . . .*" [35]

Hollister, referring to a strike of his Chinese laborers the year before, to obtain higher wages for gathering almonds, voiced his "fear we will have to give up the almond till we get a cheaper labor." He praised his own peculiar labor class in contrast to native white laborers. "My experience in this State," he said, "makes me put Chinamen entirely ahead of all others . . . His willingness to perform what the proprietor wants done is beyond question better than that of any other man." "As a laborer he is most submissive and kindly, ready to do what you want done with entire good-will. He descends to the lowest employments, and when properly treated, thinks of no degradation in the lowest of labors. In short, he is willing to be the mudsill and take the very bottom round of the social ladder. As a man I have found him honest, and, as a rule, very intelligent. Who ever saw a drunken Chinaman? When skilled in your work, their accuracy and promptness are remarkable. For us of California they fill the very places which other laborers will not willingly fill."[36]

Professing an absence of prejudice, this witness continued: "With me and my labor it does not matter a straw. I am entirely regardless of the color or complexion of the man who does my work, white or black or parti-colored, or any complexion, simply requiring that the man shall work patiently and kindly . . . I can remember a time, forty years ago, when the American, that is, the laborer, in the country was a kindly working man, when he was willing to perfom his labors in a kindly, submissive, good way as a member of the family. Today we are very far from that condition. There is no such man in the State of California that I know of, with very few exceptions."

Hollister had used the phrase "as a member of the family" casually, perhaps without recognition that this difference whether or not the laborer was employed "as a member of the family" was critical. In the type of California agriculture which he represented in the 1870's, it was customary to employ laborers in gangs, but not as members of the employer's family, as that relationship was understood on the farms of the East. "Of course, there are some good Americans, first-class, for they are the best men in the world when they are good; . . ." he conceded without altering his adverse conclusion in any way. "The character of the labor generally in California is very bad other than that of the Chinaman. What has contributed to make the American laborer so good for nothing . . . I do not know. Perhaps labor-leagues have had something to do with it. Perhaps the general disinclination to work which has grown out of the war may have had something to do with it. At any rate, the fact is patent that the American today has made up his mind to live off his wits and not work." "I say that the rule for American laborers today is to be drunkards. They are bummers . . ."[37]

Hollister was asked to what cause he attributed "the existence of so many hoodlums here?" "Apparently," he answered, "the parents have been getting along pretty well, speculating, making money, and are careless about the education of the children, and it may be ascribed in part to the common disinclination which has swept over our people to work."[38]

Colonel Hollister's testimony gave his opinion of small farmers as well as of white laborers. The record reads: "*Q*. As you were brought up in your father's family, and as was the custom of your neighbors, was it the habit there for the women and children to do a certain amount of work? *A*. We all worked. *Q*. Is that the habit with the white families in this State in the same position? *A*. Some of them work, but a great many of them do not. A great many of them are very idle, when they ought to do something. One of the causes why our agriculture suffers is that the proprietor himself is not always an efficient, good, earnest, workingman. There is a little too much idleness. *Q.* How is it about the children? *A.* Very generarlly they are not working as they ought. The poor families in the country, I think, are raising their children the best. Necessity compels them to labor, and that saves them."[39]

What Hollister wanted was to be able to get work performed cheaply, it mattered little how or by whom. He drew an analogy: "Why is not cheap labor good if labor-saving machinery is good? Do you denounce a Chinaman or a black man, or any other kind of man, because he sells his labor cheaply . . . ? If you discard the Chinaman for his cheap labor, you should quit the use of machinery. If one is a damage, the other is." " . . . so far as the application of their labor to my industries is concerned, I make no difference between the muscle of a horse, the power of a steam-engine, the power of a Chinaman, or the power of a white man employed by me. The object is to accomplish something, and I employ them for that purpose." "We want muscle and not citizens . . . "[40]

The Committee questioned Hollister about the effect of cheap labor on the welfare of the country. "Then it is your opinion, if I am correct and follow your logic," asked his interrogator, "that a country filled with mules and horses and Chinamen would be just as desirable a country as if filled with white labor?" Hollister denied he had said "any such thing," but repeated, "so long as I get the work performed, it does not matter to me whether it is performed by white men, black men, or Chinamen." "What is the difference that it will make in the future building up of this State?" the Committee insisted. "Tell me the future of the Chinaman and I will tell you," he said. "I do not say that he is a good man; I do not say that he is a bad man. I have not gone into the history of man enough to understand whether he is going to be a better man than I am."

This was coming close to what the Committee regarded as the central issue, so the line of questioning was pressed home: "Then do you think that the future welfare of the State is involved in the introduction of Chinese? *A.* I think the wealth of the country will be due to the advent of cheap labor. *Q.* I do not say the wealth, but the welfare. *A.* Grub comes before anything else in the world."

Then the questioner turned to discuss those laborers who were without employment: "*Q.* How do you apply that to the poor laborer who is thrown out of employment in San Francisco if grub comes before anything else?" "You have not thrown him out;" the witness replied, "he has thrown himself out . . . There are too many places for everybody; that is the trouble. Too many competitors for every workingman in the State. That keeps the prices so high that nobody can afford to give them employment."[41]

Asked if a man can "sustain a family and educate his children on fifty cents a day," the reply came: "Yes, sir; I have done my work for less. *Q.* I do not ask what you did forty years ago . . . *A.* It can be done today just as well as it was ever done, but it presupposes honesty, economy, persistent industry, and all that; the very virtues practiced forty year ago." [42] Lower wages, he explained further, would lower the cost of living for white laborers if only they were willing to accept them. "The minute you drop down the price of living and work cheaply you can live cheaply. The laborer can live better when he gets four bits a day and the cost of living is lowered than when he works for three dollars a day and pays three dollars for a sack of potatoes." [43]

The witness did not admit that the scarcity and demoralization of white laborers of which he complained might be owing to land monopoly and low wages in California agriculture. Opposition to Chinese, he said, came from bummers. "The bummer always goes against the Chinaman . . . " [44]

Colonel Hollister's questioners before the Congressional Committee pressed the twin issues of cheap *vs.* dear labor, and of large estates *vs.* working farmers. As to the first he was asked: "Are the cheap or dear labor countries more or less prosperous, in your judgment?" By way of reply he repeated his own theory of employment: "I do not understand cheap labor as you do. I say labor cheap enough to justify employment is necessary for social progress. There is no other way for it. If I employ a man at a rate that I cannot afford to pay, I am soon 'busted'; and there is nobody to pay anybody at all. Work must be obtained, and it must be obtained at prices which will leave a fair margin for brains and capital." [45] His faith was in the desirability, indeed the necessity, of cheap-labor as the cornerstone of the newly developing California rural society.

Regarding the possibility of operating California land successfully by a system other than that of large landholding employers of which he was a part, Hollister's testimony reads: "*Q.* If you, to use your own somewhat inelegant expression, were 'busted,' and if your 75,000 acres of land in Santa Barbara were divided into 750 parts of 100 acres each, and each was covered by a family like your own father's family, with laboring sons and daughters, in your opinion would it be better for the country or injurious to the country that you should be 'busted' or not?" Hollister's reply was indirect: "I suppose it would be a great deal better for the country if all men were industrious and all had opportunities for work. I cannot understand how it is possible that you can draw any such conclusion or inference. *Q.* As that you should be 'busted'? *A.* No, sir; but that the advent of a certain number of men at my farm should necessarily do more than I have done myself. *Q.* That is certainly what I mean, whether you do not think that 750 families would be more profitable to the State and a better guarantee for a healthful future than for you to own 75,000 acres? *A.* If they had come here and hired California labor, everyone of them would have been 'busted,' and they would not have done any good. *Q.* Are not four sons and two daughters and the father and mother capable of working 100 acres? *A*. They are capable of doing something . . . I think you cannot bring 750 families on my farm to do as much work as I have done in the last few years without capital." [46]

Colonel Hollister was steeped in the outlook of men who sought by foresight and energy to develop the country through great undertakings. With self-confidence born of achievement, he declined to acknowledge that good farm work in California could be done in any other way. Asked "what would be the result if you did not succeed?" he replied, "I suppose the result would be precisely as in all countries where business fails; we would become a set of bummers. If labor is not performed I think the country is done up, and is not worth living in. You would not live in it." The Committee's questioner replied: "If we had a number of men with 75,000 acres and they did not succeed, I think it would be a good thing." [47]

This assertion by the questioner for the Committee of the United States Congress that he did not believe the welfare of California's agriculture depended upon large employers of labor like himself was startling to Hollister. He countered by identifying himself with laborers. "I have worked for fifty years like a slave," he said. "I have done as much work as any Chinaman . . . I am a workingman. If I have any sympathies at all it is with the workingmen of the country. If the California laborer or farmer has a friend in this State, that friend is myself." [48] Then he repeated his thesis that farmers could not afford to pay existing wage rates. Next followed an admission that a large portion of California farmers in fact were performing "their own work." [49]

This testimony by Colonel Hollister on the subject of Chinese immigration probably is the fullest and clearest statement in favor of building California rural society upon large-scale employment of landless wage laborers to be found in the historical records of the State. It was conspicuous at the time for its completeness and frankness, but did not stand alone. It was supported by others who came before the Committee, or in other ways subscribed publicly to his general views. Among them was George D. Roberts of the Tide Land Reclamation Company, who spoke in the name of men of enterprise who wanted, not to labor and make homes on the land, but to employ others and to speculate. Immigrants to California, he held, "did not come to this country, they say, to work, for that they came to make money, and they are not satisfied. As soon as they get a few months' wages they go to the mines or want to rent a piece of land of you, themselves, and hire Chinamen to do the work. They want to speculate. A very intelligent class of white men generally come to this country, and very few of them come here to do cheap labor, and we have cheap labor that must be done, or it will stop the progress of the country. We could not afford to pay three or four dollars a day to white men to do our work. We could not get them to do it, scarcely; and the labor that the Chinaman does is producing wealth to the country and producing labor for the white laborer . . . I can only say as far as the practical working of Chinamen is concerned, and as far as my experience goes, that they are a great advantage to every man of intelligence and of enterprise in this country." [50]

Roberts was a large operator; he had reclaimed 30 to 40,000 acres of land, and bought a quarter of a million acres. Senator Sargent asked him whether employment of Chinese was really a matter of necessity, or was it rather the employers' preference. "Then the lands are worth from five to six dollars to twenty dollars an acre, on the outside before they are reclaimed," said the Senator, "and average seventy-five dollars an acre afterward. Could you not afford with a big profit like that to pay white men's wages?" Roberts replied: "*A.* As I told you we could not get white men to do the work. *Q.* Could you if you paid them decent wages? *A.* In some cases it might be done; but white men will not do that work as a general thing." [51]

Roberts, like Hollister, thought that Chinese were to be preferred as laborers because "they did not come here to be politicians; they came here to do our work . . . I think they are much better than slaves or negroes were. In the first place, they are more reliable. They are not politicians in any sense of the word. They do not care anything about our parades or excitements." [52] A hop-raiser of Alameda County enlarged upon this preference for Chinese by disparaging white laborers. The latter, he said, by way of quoting an employing Portuguese farmer in his vicinity, "tell me they will work for the same money that the Chinamen work. I know if I hire them they will growl and complain that they cannot make anything, and I will have trouble." [53] An enterprising man who was a merchant in San Francisco, farmer in Fresno, former president of a small railroad, and president of a company the object of which was to irrigate lands from Kings River, corroborated this opinion. In the wheat harvest, he said, "sometimes where there are white men only employed, if one or two knock off, it stops the whole gang. The Chinese, when employed, will stay as long as you keep them." [54]

Actually the Chinese were not as completely strike-proof as claimed by these employers. A San Mateo farmer admitted as much when he told the Committee, "The time you get in a tight place he sticks it on. If there is no work to be done, he works cheap." [55] Notwithstanding this objection, and in spite of a further admission that "Chinese drive away white labor," because "when no work is to be done . . . a Chinaman will work for a mere nothing," this farmer told the Committee that because of the brief seasons of employment, he found it convenient to have mobile Chinese laborers available. " . . . here is the idea," he said, "our farming is short . . . When our haying commences it is quick; it has got to be cured. Our grain is the same way." [56]

One employing farmer who testified was reluctant to concede that the reason for desiring Chinese was because they cheapened labor. His neighboring farmers, he said, "are for it, as a general thing. That arises, however, more on account of its reliability than on account of its cheapness." When asked, "Do you call the Chinese labor here cheap labor, in fact, in comparison with labor in the Eastern States?" he replied, "No." [57] His reluctance, however, was drowned out by those who asserted the contrary, viz., that its chief value was its cheapness, and the prospect that more immigrants would make labor cheaper still.

Large employers of Chinese made special efforts to point out to those laborers who were intelligent and enterprising the opportunity for themselves to take advantage of the availability of Chinese cheap laborers and employ them. As to laborers who were not "intelligent" by his definition, he acknowledged that it might be otherwise. "I do not think the presence of the Chinese here affects the price of intelligent labor," said Roberts. "It is possible there may be a class of labor that is affected by it, but to sustain that class of labor alone, we would have to hold back the enterprise of the country." [58] A high railroad official made similar appeal. "A white laborer," he said, "if he will attend to business honestly and industriously, he will not only find plenty to do, but the first thing you know he will be managing 20 or 30 Chinamen; ... They perform a class of labor you can not have done in any other way. It enables farmers to carry on their occupation in various ways, and without the employment of this labor I do not believe the land would have been cultivated anything like as prosperously as it has been." [59] In a prepared statement submitted to the Committee the appeal to white labor was simple and direct: "Let the Irish avail of the opportunity to become masters, rather than competitors, of the Mongolian. Let us control what cannot be prevented. It is better to lead than be led or left behind." [60]

These views on how to lay the foundations for California's rural society which were expressed by or for large agricultural employers, did not dominate the hearings before the Congressional Committee of 1876. On the contrary the weight of opinion clearly was on the side of those who favored a rural society of working farmers.

The conflict was over men's purposes. The dominating purpose of enterprising men who wanted to employ cheap labor was to produce wealth fast. The primary purpose of others was to create the kind of society which they desired to live in, one which would maximize what they regarded as the values of rural life. Their view found clear statement from H. N. Clement, a member of the San Francisco bar, which a committee of the State Senate published in 1878. "I am ... compelled to deny," he said, "that the whole object of life, or that the whole foundation of national prosperity, is dependent upon the ability to produce and export something, especially if by doing so it is necessary to introduce a distinct class of cheap laborers.

"I deny . . . that it is any evidence of the prosperity of a country to see it rapidly developing its resources." [61]

To make the issue perfectly clear, the attorney became specific. "Let us take the case of A. Lusk & Co.;" he said, "who ship immense quantities of fruit to the Eastern States . . . I naturally ask, 'Why do you employ Chinese instead of white laborers?' They answer, 'It would be impossible. We could not ship a car load of fruit East if it had to be picked and packed by white laborers.' 'Why?' I ask. 'Because,' they reply, 'a white man who lives with his family, and has to support them, cannot work for a dollar a day.'

"*Query*: Is it more important that A. Lusk & Co. shall be able, by means of cheap labor, to export fruit, than that there shall grow up in our midst a system of cheap labor or 'serfdom'?"

Then this lawyer took occasion to demolish the idea frequently advanced that cheap laborers, by some arrangement or other, could be walled off from any competition with other laborers. "I will admit, perhaps," he continued, "that the one thousand Chinese employed, directly and indirectly, by A. Lusk & Co., are not in *direct* 'competition' with white labor, and that if there were no Chinese laborers the business of shipping fruit would cease; and yet I cannot close my eyes to the fact that these same cheap laborers are quietly and yet universally usurping all departments of manual labor. In other words, if one class of enterprises subsists upon cheap labor, is it not madness to suppose that another class, side by side with them, will pay high wages?"

Objection to the creation of a caste of cheap laborers in California agriculture was both broad and specific. Samuel V. Blakeslee, "orthodox Congregational minister" and acting editor of "The Pacific, the oldest religious paper on the coast," was among those witnesses who drew a broad indictment of the kind of society which was spreading over the land in the late seventies. Blakeslee was accustomed to "travel about 7,000 miles a year, through all parts of the coast," and had first-hand impressions of those conditions which he held up for criticism – absentee ownership, tenancy, and a large laboring population, the landlords pressing upon the renters and the renters pressing upon the laborers and upon the land. These, he believed, were not elements of which desirable rural communities were built. "As it is now, generally to a large extent," he told the Committee, " a farming population is a renting population. They rent the lands, and, as a general thing the owner of the lands takes just as much as he can in order to allow the renter to live. In the San Joaquin Valley half a township is owned by a man living in New York, who receives from his California laborers $70,000; and that for one-half the township. Another large land-holder, back of Benicia, lives here in this city, and he owns nearly half a township. He receives from his rented lands $80,000 or $90,000 every year. These lands are held at $30, $40, and $50 an acre, so that these renters cannot buy them. These laborers get just enough to live from year to year, and thus to a large extent our farming population are not owners of land, but they are renters. They take but little interest therefore in the establishment of schools, in the establishment of churches, in the building of pleasant houses, in the cultivation of fine yards, and in the building of roads."[62]

To the broad charges against building a labor caste was added a bill of particulars. First, it was said, the exhaustion of soil, which was an object of longstanding criticism, had its roots in the availability of cheap labor to permit a system of one-crop wheat-farming on a grand scale. S. Clinton Hastings, himself a large wheat-grower and active in reclamation and land deals, testified to this evil. "I might say, and even do say," he told the Committee, "that there are very few real farmers in California. Our people have got to be simply men who go on and plunder the soil, cultivate crops a few years simply, by machinery, sow the wheat and by machinery gather it, and by machinery send it off on railroads; and thus they put money in their pockets and the balance of the year they lie around. If there were no Chinamen here the white men would have to do their work to sustain their families and tend to some other business besides simply going on and sowing wheat on our lands. The fact is that in some of our best wheat lands the fertility of the soil has been so much reduced that about Vallejo, a very rich wheat-growing district that I have lived in for years, we used to produce from twenty to twenty-five sacks of wheat per acre, and the same land does not prdouce more than from seven to nine sacks now, which shows what we are coming to, and that we will soon get to that epoch here as a wheat-growing country when we will have no wheat. We have no fertilizing matter. I think the employment of Chinese labor in the smaller departments of labor has a tendency to encourage our people to cultivate larger tracts of land and waste our soils, whereas if they would cultivate less and perform the work by their own labor, the soil would be better taken care of."

Here was an issue between two forms of agricultural enterprise. On the one hand was a form of operation by large-scale employers, enabled to specialize in a single crop by the availability of laborers who could be hired during the peak season and let go the rest of the year to support themselves. On the other hand was a form of operation by working farmers, whose continuous responsibility for year around support of their families obliged them to diversify crops in order to employ the labor power of the family more fully. The chairman of the Congressional Committee recognized this issue at once, so he pressed the point made by this witness: "*Q.* But for Chinese labor there would be small farms instead of larger ones? *A.* Yes, sir. *Q.* And the farmers would take care of the soil? *A.* In the first place, they would do their own kitchen work among their own daughters and their wives, they would do their own washing and cook their own food, raise their own pigs, and milk their own cows. If you give that employment to the family it causes them to contract their agriculture within a smaller area, and makes them cultivate less, making farmers such as we find in other States. I hardly know a farmer in California such as we have in Indiana or Iowa." [63]

A San Francisco attorney, John W. Dwinelle, testified to the same effect. "It is better for California that our lands should remain waste than be wasted," he said. "The land-killing system of California is a curse to the country, and it is sustained mainly by Chinese labor." [64]

Colonel Hollister had acknowledged readily his agreement with Senator Sargent that "cultivating wheat exclusively, &c, is impoverishing our soil and leaving it a desert." But when the Senator asked if "this excessive cultivation of wheat" was not "facilitated by Chinese labor," then he refused further agreement. His remedy for soil exhaustion by large-scale, one-crop operations, was to become an even larger employer of even cheaper labor. To the Senator's question, "Would a man be able to cultivate a thousand, or two thousand, or five thousand acres of wheat year after year and strip the soil without that labor?" Hollister replied, "No, sir, I do not think farming could be carried on to the extent it is without Chinese labor. I do not say the Chinese labor is saving us at all, because Chinese labor today is twice what it is worth. If you will give me Chinese labor at four bits a day, and American labor at about the same, I will fertilize and keep the land forever good." [65]

A second indictment of Chinese cheap labor was that its presence served to deter the entry of more highly paid white laborers and even of boys and girls into agricultural labor. A farmer of about 400 acres in Alameda County explained this in answer to a question whether "proprietors of large tracts, say of over five thousand acres, are generally in favor of the introduction of Chinese labor because it is cheap and convenient?" It was, he said, "true to a certain extent with reference to grain-growing, but it is more especially true with reference to those men who grow currants and small fruits . . . The presence of Chinese labor gives the man who has the land and the capital to put out the plants with a view of growing those currants the monopoly of the trade, when, if there were no Chinamen here, he would not have it." [66] The competition, he was pointing out, was not simply in the labor market between Chinese and white laborers, but in the produce market as well – between agricultural employers with their wage laborers, and working farmers with their families to help them.

A third indictment against cheap labor was that it retarded the cutting up of large landholdings for operation by working farmers. The absence of cheap labor, a witness testified, "would have had a tendency to the distribution of those large landed claims [Mexican grants], for the reason that only by cheapened labor they have found it possible to preserve and work them. I think, in the absence of that element here, there would have been an increase of white population who would have purchased these lands, and they would have been subdivided into homesteads, and sold out to people who wished to settle upon them and improve them. *Q.* And who would have made homes of the character of those of New England and the West? *A.* Yes, sir; something like that." [67]

The 400-acre farmer quoted earlier testified, "I think if the Chinese had not been here, it follows as a certainty as to the lands now occupied in that county by a large class, that either one of three conditions would have resulted; one would be that white labor would have worked those lands, or they would be rented to white men, or they would be cut up and sold to white men." [68]

The fourth indictment held that Chinese immigration divided rural California sharply into classes with an inferior caste at the bottom. It denied that the shortcomings and scarcity of domestic laborers created a necessity for foreign cheap laborers, and asserted the opposite, viz., it was the plenitude of cheap labor with its concomitant large landholdings which created a class of domestic laborers with many shortcomings.

Witness Blakeslee was among those who took this view. "I believe that the influx of the Chinese will affect these laborers very adversely," said this popular Congregational minister, "so as to result in a monopolizing, wealthy class that will be small, while there will result from it a very large class technically called at the South 'poor white trash.' We are having them here, and we shall have more and more of them by the influx of the Chinese ... Another cause is the difficulty of getting permanent homes. Hence they only care for labor for themselves. They have no interest in the country; they have no interest in their families, because they have no families; hence they will drink and carouse ... if the Chinese were restricted ... there would be more and more call for white labor ... men would be proud to be laborers; our sons and daughters would cheerfully step forward to labor, and the country would much more rapidly advance in Christian civilization, and it would advance more rapidly in wealth; a large eastern white population would come in who will not come in now." The large employing farmers, he held, "could not cultivate ... unless they had inferior laborers like negroes of the South, like the Chinamen, and like these bumming white men." Questioned by the Congressional Committee whether, in consequence, he was prepared to approve "a system which would result in breaking all these large farms into small ones," he assented to depriving the owners of Chinese cheap laborers as a means "to compel them to sell." [69]

Later Blakeslee became vehement in his attacks on large landholders. At a meeting of the General Association of Congregational Churches of California in 1877 he proclaimed: "But what shall the rich capitalists do, who, at present cannot get good white laborers to till their lands and reap their harvests? Let them, at such moderate price as they can readily obtain, sell their lands to honest American families, and go themselves to useful labor, no longer to live as lordly leeches upon the country. It were better for America and for the world that such rich men should die beggars than to live by degrading labor." [70]

Those who wanted Chinese laborers to flow into California without restriction, as recruits to a cheap labor caste, had been explicit as to the reasons for their desires. Among the spokesmen was an attorney for the Chinese Six Companies in San Francisco who testified: "How is it that we can compete with the granaries of the world? By Chinese cheap labor . . . This class of laborers, these mud-sills, are at the bottom of our success, and I challenge contradiction. We have reclaimed a million acres and more of swamp, overflowed, and tule lands, where the Chinamen stand up to their waists in soft tule-marsh throwing up this dirt. This land produces its seventy-five bushels of wheat to the acre." [71]

The view that a caste of laborers was necessary, like mud-sills, to serve as foundation for the rest of society was not a new opinion. Lincoln had contrasted the mud-sill with the free labor principle before the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society in 1859; and espousal in California in the 1870's of the same theory that mud-sills were "at the bottom of our success" was challenged likewise. One of the witnesses before the Committee chose to make answer in the *Argonaut*: "So long as labor is to be performed by muscle, we want that muscle mixed with brains. Such a system is semi-slavery or serfdom. Colonel Hollister says: 'The Chinaman is willing to be the mud-sill.' That is just the objection I have to him, we want no race of people who are content to be the mud-sills in this country. We want manhood." [72]

Men were disturbed by this dividing of rural society into castes. Senator Sargent asked witness S. Clinton Hastings, a large operator who nevertheless opposed unlimited immigration of Chinese, "How is it with reference to the creation of a labor caste and an employing caste, making castes in society? Do you think it has the same tendency that slavery had in creating a servile caste?" [73] The reply was a categorical affirmation. On another occasion this California senator declared: "The great fact is, that the presence of the Chinese in America is the beginning of radical changes in the labor system of the country." Taking this sentence as its text, a California publication stated, "The only approach to a parallel is the slave labor system which formerly prevailed at the South . . . the competition of the Chinese is more formidable because theirs is a slavery of condition rather than of law." [74]

Among those who decried caste and praised working farmers for the kind of society which they built, was Attorney Dwinelle, who said, "Cheap labor is not desirable in California. The whole theory of our institutions, and particularly of our common-school system that we boast of so much, is that we are to advance the population of the country as rapidly as possible in moral and aesthetic culture . . . It would be better for the country to be broken up into small farms, as perhaps 320 acres apiece, and be cultivated by the resident population that shall build up school-houses and churches and all institutions of civilization, rather than that it should remain in the hands of large speculators and be engrossed in that way . . . We should have cheap capital rather than cheap labor . . . it would be better to wait a year rather than to allow, not the mass of the people, but a few large land-holders to get rich suddenly and to make enormous profits . . . It is better that our population should go on more slowly, and when it does come it should be such population as I was accustomed to in Central New York, where you and I were born, and such population as is found in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois." [75]

The witness was asked point-blank to choose for the future of California between a society of working farmers, and one of great estates operated by a labor caste. "*Q.* Now, then, regarding the future welfare of this country on this side of the continent, if developed by the small landed proprietor, who himself and his family would be industrious tillers of the soil, and a future with great proprietors developing the country by Chinese cheap labor, what would be the effect upon the moral and political system of the nation, upon the commonwealth, the State, in the broader sense, leaving the material interest out of the question? *A.* I regard the existence of two different populations as a morbid hybridism which is disastrous to both parties." The problem was more than one of race. "Would you designate it a prejudice of race, or otherwise?" a public official was asked by the Congressional Committee. "No;" he replied, "I think it would be more a prejudice against coming in contact with servile labor." The Chinese, he acknowledged, were not slaves by law, but their condition, he insisted, and their state of mind, made them servile.[76]

The alignment of California opinion on the issue of desirability of more Chinese in order to provide cheap labor for agriculture showed a decided class character. Large landholders and operators of large tracts were conspicuous among those who favored ample supplies of Chinese laborers. The Grangers, and small farmers generally, opposed cheap Chinese labor strongly.[77] The Workingmen's Party, led by Dennis Kearney, was the most vehement organization in opposition, as well as representative of the most numerous interest.

Middle class opinion was not unified. Ministers of the gospel were divided between those who, as Rev. Blakeslee said, "glow with Christian benevolence, and hope to do good to the Chinese by coming here," and those who were appalled by the devisive effects of cheap labor on California society.

The latter were particularly vocal, and marshalled their arguments with great clarity and force.[78] Lawyers and school teachers, so far as they were sufficiently aware and interested to express themselves, were opposed to cheap labor.

Merchants were divided. Evidently the larger merchants in the cities, those who wanted Chinese domestic servants or perhaps carried on trade with China, favored cheap Chinese labor. Country merchants saw their interest on the opposite side. As a large farmer of Alameda County told the Congressional Committee, "every thinking country merchant reasons that if these lands that are now held in large quantities were worked by one hundred white men, then there would be one hundred more customers for the stores than there are now, from the fact that the Chinamen do not buy many of the things that the white men must have to live.... If you will look into the house where those Chinese live that are working the lands, you will find no chairs, none of such things which are positively necessary for well-regulated American society, or laborers, even. They get along with so much less of such things that they can afford to work for less wages. They deprive the merchants of trade in those articles, and therefore the merchants are not in favor of their remaining." [79]

Just after a popular referendum on Chinese immigration had been taken, a California periodical drove hard the point of this unfavorable relationship between cheap labor and community prosperity, extending even to the prosperity of urban San Francisco. And not only community prosperity, but also the unfavorable relationship between cheap labor and freedom from instability, from the popular disturbances that then were marking the late '70s. "If these Asiatics," it declared, "had never made their appearance on these shores the State of California would have today a population of a million and a quarter. Our city would have at least 400,000 residents. Small farms would have taken the place of the large ranches. There would be very few Dr. Glenns. But there would be a large array of small and prosperous proprietors. There would have been no social upheaval. There would have been more mouths to fill and more backs to clothe [i.e., farmers' families, not single Chinese laborers]. The profits of all industries would be expanded here. Land would be much more valuable. Real estate in cities would be commanding much higher figures. Lastly there would be good pay for all around." [80]

Thus the desire for more widespread prosperity and more social stability was moving middle class opinion to the side of American laborers and small farmers. The cry against Chinese labor was coming, as the Argonaut said, "from that intelligent middle class who do not desire to see a landed aristocracy and a pauper peasantry spring up in this country; from that middle class who don't own miles of the public estate, who don't own water, gas, and railroad monopolies... From that great middle class who have developed the resources of the country, who have made the wilderness a smiling settlement, who have built cities, who, in short, are the backbone of this or any other country." [81] The editor of the Los Angeles *Herald* spoke the fundamental objection to cheap labor in simple words: "My observation has been that the labor of the Chinese who are here now and are coming here tends to make the rich richer and the poor poorer... Chinese labor, undoubtedly, has been beneficial to a few people and injurious to the masses." [82]

Californians of the late '70s did not want that kind of society. By overwhelming sentiment they persuaded Congress to shut off the great stream which was creating a caste of cheap labor as foundation for the countryside.

This agitation and public debate of the late '70s were crystallized by Congress into an act of exclusion for a period of ten years. Naturally agricultural employers were apprehensive. They had found the Chinese "perfectly adapted to the seasonal work in operating the large-scale intensive units... They were readily available – the employer had only to contact the 'Chinese boss' or 'head boy,' tell him how many laborers were wanted, where and when, and the rest would be done. He was not even under the necessity of paying the laborers individually or of firing them if they did unsatisfactory work – all negotiations were carried on through the Chinese boss. The gang would stay until the work was finished, would provide their own board, and were not particular about housing." [83] Now, unless Chinese cheap laborers were to be replaced by other cheap laborers, they saw that they might be obliged to reorganize agriculture upon a new base of stable labor. "The orchardist and farmer cannot send to Europe or the East for laborers, with the hope of obtaining them at reasonable hire," said the *Pacific Rural Press* in 1883, "for the reason that he cannot employ them profitably to himself more than three or four months in the year – a condition of things entirely unsuited to the demands of the European laborer." [84]

The State Labor Commissioner used more vigorous language to state the alternatives facing rural California. "Employers could not expect white laborers to spring out of the ground when the Chinese influx ceased," he declared, "nor can they expect to remedy the evil, which a short-sighted policy, preferring a homeless wandering heathen to a settled American with a family, brought upon them, without suffering the consequences. But the great danger is that they are unwilling to suffer these consequences, and rather than undergo the annoyance of a settlement which would, once for all, put the question of labor upon a right basis, they will look only to the immediate future and continue to encourage or begin again to encourage Chinese immigration . . . If the size of their landed estates and the mode of cultivating them preclude the employment of civilized labor under civilized conditions, it is better that such estates lay waste, than that they be made the means of perpetuating the coolie system." [85]

At a meeting of the State Horticultural Society in September and October, 1883, "Fruit and Labor," according to the *Pacific Rural Press*, was the subject of "An interesting discussion on an important question." [86] It was opened by Judge Blackwood of Haywards, who depicted clearly the perplexities of those whose primary hope was to replace the Chinese rather than to reorganize California agriculture. "In Europe the industries have always had an abundant supply of home labor; the whole families labor," he said. "The holdings are small and the family is adequate to the work." The judge might have said the same about northern farms, and, outside the plantation belt, about a good deal of southern agriculture also. "Here, exactly the reverse is true," continued the judge. "Our orchards are far beyond any home labor we can muster. What shall we do?" In the coming of easterners to farm for themselves he could find no comfort. "The railroads and the Immigration Association are bringing in some immigrants, but they are chiefly people who propose to settle upon land for themselves and do not come to labor for others. They will not directly help us. They will soon be in competition with us," he objected. "But they say that if we will pay more wages we can get enough labor. There is a class which will not work at any price. They say there are boys enough in the city. There are plenty of boys in San Francisco, but they are wild and unused to work. They do not like regular work and regular hours and restraint. They would make an infernal region of any orchard." Dr. Chapin of San Jose agreed that boys were unsatisfactory. In his experience "although they came well recommended and with a disposition to learn the fruit-growing business, they only work a little while before they strike for more pay than they agreed to accept."

Mr. Livermore thought that "something could be done by giving laborers cottages for their families, and the use of a few acres of land on which they can grow garden stuff and keep a cow, a pig, poultry, etc., which will employ their leisure time to advantage. By planting a family thus to each forty acres of vineyard, and letting this serve as a nucleus, to be reinforced by additional workers during picking season, he thought the basis of regular and reliable help could be had."

Someone proposed that "to make labor honorable and not servile would settle the question," and "spoke at some length on the humanitarian idea of the duty of fruit growers to treat their men better . . . and build them up in prosperity and in home comforts." [87]

The October meeting of the Horticultural Society, continuing the topic of September, was opened by an essay which showed an attitude toward laborers reminiscent in some aspects of Col. Hollister in 1876. Among the advantages of the Chinese, the speaker pointed out, was the fact that "you are not expected to build and maintain an expensive boarding house, nor to take them into your house." "We are told by some who pretend to know," he continued, "that we would find no difficulty in obtaining white laborers if we would but treat them decently like Christian men, and not like hogs . . . We are told how the Eastern people trust their hired help; that they take them into their houses, to their tables, give them good rooms and beds to sleep in." By way of answer to this proposal, first he asserted that in the East he "never had nor saw better living nor better treatment of hired help than I have seen in Caifornia." He asserted also the superiority of sleeping in "blankets under an oak tree in California to the close, over-heated room and bed of the Eastern farm-house, sweltering in it in the summer, chilled and freezing when coming out of it in the winter." He explained that eastern farms had had longer to construct facilities for labor, and added that there was sharp distinction in character of laborers in the two sections: "And why should they not receive their hired help into their houses at the East on more intimate terms than would be prudent for us to do? As a rule their hired help are people who were raised in the country, and whose antecedents are known or could easily be traced. Not so with ours, which assembled here from all parts of the world, principally tramps, or single men, with no one that ever knew them to recommend them." After an acknowledgment that among the laborers were "many deserving, worthy men," "men of principle, education, and native refinement, industrious, and worthy to be trusted," he launched his final denunciation: "But to draw a force of such men from the common herd of tramping seekers after something they do not want to find, would be like drawing a grand prize in a lottery."

Judge Blackwood declared, "It is a slander upon the orchardists to say that their laboring men are not well treated. In my vicinity the laborers have as good food and as good beds as their employers." He thought that "possibly the neighboring state of Sonora, Mexico, could be looked to as a source of labor supply" to replace the Chinese. One speaker said he gave his men a chance to plant fruit and to start dairies on shares, but Judge Blackwood was unimpressed with the practicality of such measures.

The issue was drawn not only in the form of these questions – where to get more laborers and what status to accord to employees; it was drawn also as a question of alternatives between large-scale employment of labor, on one hand, and self-employment in the national farm tradition on the other. A member of the horticultural society said that "the labor problem does not trouble the small orchardist. People with fifty acres in orchard are not alarmed. They can plant different kinds of fruits and three men and the family will take care of it. The great planters are to be troubled."

Others in the society thought that the way to solve these "social questions" was by considering them "as agriculturists," i.e., by reorganizing the basis of agricultural society. "Immense plantations have been made," observed a member of the society. "How can we provide labor to care for the products? The situation serves us right. It is no benefit to the state to plant thousand-acre vineyards. The benefit comes from the hosts of small places which give employment to families."

This view found support from others. As the record of the meeting states: "Dr. Kimball thought planting should be in proportion to the labor at command, and the land should be more distributed, so that homes could be built up and families employed. All enterprises that trust to bringing in hordes of servile labor will fail, and any system of immigration of this kind will disappoint the men who seek it. We must have people who work for themselves and not for others, to build up the state. In the coming years there will be no talk of the thousand-acre vineyards, but of the thousands of small vineyards." [88]

Confronted by the fact of exclusion of Chinese cheap laborers, these were the thoughts of farmers as they discussed the foundations of California rural society: New sources of cheap labor, or new sources of seasonal laborers who would not be of inferior status? Better material provision and status for employees, or continuance of existing relations on the basis that they were either adequate or else all that this type of employees deserved? Seasonal large-scale employment by others, or more diversified, smaller scale self-employment?

Once more in 1891 Congressional hearings were held, this time to determine whether the Chinese exclusion law of 1882 should be repealed, altered, or extended. The climate of public opinion had so changed that the need for cheap labor which had been proclaimed in 1876 now was asserted with much less assurance, indeed, almost gingerly. Harrison Gray Otis of the Los Angeles *Times* told the Committee that there was "a multitude of people who want to be clerks, . . . but in the kind of labor which relates to the development of the country there is a scarcity . . . " He spoke of "humble employments" avoided by American laborers, and said that "in fruit-growing there is a good deal of detail, requiring both patient and cheap labor; the gathering of almonds, for instance . . . " [89] But Otis, despite this qualified approval of cheap labor, asked only that Chinese already in this country be not deported, not that the exclusion law be relaxed.

As symbol of the sand-lot agitation of the 1870's Dennis Kearney took the stand to repeat labor's objections to Chinese immigration. A memorandum by S. B. Pettengill told how Chinese had "completely engrossed certain rural . . . occupations," and stated that "they have come here as laborers for hire and the majority of them are employed under a contract system which admits of their being wielded en masse in the hands of capitalists or the large employers of labor and from which they have shown no aspirations to free themselves."[90]

The record of the 1891 hearings reflects but a pale imitation of the analysis of California rural society spread before the public in the '70s. The same patterns of divergent thought are recognizable, but they were less fully elaborated, for all knew by that time that as a question of immigration, the issue had been closed. The advocates of a rural society based upon cheap labor were speaking in subdued terms. Those who opposed it had scarcely more to do than to state their opposition in order to win a renewal of Chinese exclusion in 1892. A decade later their path was still easier. The popular will as revealed in open forum had not changed its purpose during the half century since the constitutional convention of 1849.

NOTES

1. *California Star*, March 25, 1848; August 28, 1847. *See* Eaves, L., *A History of California Labor Legislation*, Univ. Calif. Publs. Econ., II (1910) 82 ff.; and Varden Fuller, *The Supply of Agricultural Labor as a Factor in the Evolution of Farm Organization in California*, in Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, U. S. Senate, 76th Cong., 3d sess., pursuant to S. Res. 266 (74th Cong.) Part 54, pp. 19777-19898.

2. J. Ross Browne, *Debates in the Convention of California on the Formation of the State Constitution in September and October, 1849* (Wash., D. C., 1850), pp. 146-47.

3. *Debates, op. cit.*, p. 333. 4. *Ibid.*, p. 144. 5. *Ibid.*, p. 144. 6. *Ibid.*, pp. 143-44. 7. *Ibid.*, p. 145. 8. *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 140. 9. *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 50.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 141, 338-40. Eaves, L., *op. cit.*, pp. 87-88. Other arguments suggested that the problem should be left to the legislature rather than embodied in the constitution, and minimized the numbers of negroes who would be brought to California. A lone delegate, Shannon, combined an argument that free men of color should have equal right to emigrate to California, with what he called "expediency," saying that negroes are "absolutely essential" to "comfort and convenience" as domestic servants. "I do not want the people of California to be cut off from the services of any particular body of men."

11. Josiah Royce, *California* (Boston and N. Y., 1897), p. 262.

12. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, VI, 290 fn.

13. *Report of the Joint Special Committee to Investigate Chinese Immigration*, 1876, U. S. Senate Report No. 689, 44th Cong. 2d sess., p. 35.

14. *Debates, op. cit.*, p. xix. The record of debate in the constitutional convention does not support this view expressed by the memorial; it shows the statement to be misleading and at best a half-truth. If discussion of slavery in California agriculture was slight, it was because of small expectation of any substantial development of agriculture at all. Opposition in the convention was definite and emphatic to the slave labor system as a system. It was feared that if permitted it would come to dominate in the mines. Indeed, this was virtually acknowledged by the very next sentence of the memorial itself, which said that "Since the discovery of the mines, the feeling in opposition to the introduction of slavery is believed to have become, if possible, more unanimous than heretofore."

15. Congressional Globe, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 1849-50, Appendix vol. 1, p. 154.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 731; *Debates*, p. 335.

17. Globe, *op. cit.*, p. 731.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 772.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 579.

20. *Minority Report of the Select Committee on Senate Bill, No. 63, "an act to enforce contracts and obligations to perform work and labor,"* California Senate Journal, 1852, p. 671; Congressional Record, 50th Cong., 1st sess. (1888), p. 8225.

21. Calif. Sen. Journ., *op. cit.*, pp. 671-72 (italics supplied). Exclusion, specifically of "Chinese or Kanaka carpenters, masons, or blacksmiths, brought here in swarms under contracts to compete with our own mechanics, whose labor is as honorable, and as well entitled to social and political rights as the pursuits designated 'learned professions'." Carrying the same idea that competition could be avoided was a proposal made in 1857, to use the labor of convicts to reclaim swamp and overflowed lands "so that it shall not come into competition with that of citizens of this State." San Francisco *Chronicle*, Feb. 21, 1857.

22. Reprinted in *Nevada Journal*, March 11, 1852. *See also* San Francisco *Morning Herald*, March 12, 1852.

23. California Senate Journal, 1852, Appendix, pp. 731, 733, 734, 736.

24. *Daily Alta California*, March 21, 1852.

25. *Idem.*

26. March 10, 1852.

27. *Ibid.*, March 16, 1852.

28. March 20, 1852.

29. *California Farmer*, May 25, 1854.

30. Assembly Doc. No. 19, Session of 1855, p. 7.

31. *Report of Joint Select Committee Relative to the Chinese Population of the State of California*, Appendix to Legislative Journals, 1862, No. 23, pp. 5, 6, 10.

32. *Report of the Joint Special Committee to Investigate Chinese Immigration*, Sen. Report No. 689, 44th Cong., 2d sess., 1877, pp. 787, 768, 778.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 769, 786.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 1201.

35. San Francisco *Post*, Bancroft Library Scrapbooks on Chinese Immigration, IV, p. 43.

36. *Report of the Joint Spec. Committee, op. cit.*, pp. 767, 1201-02.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 767-68, 787. 38. *Ibid.*, pp. 791-92. 39. *Ibid.*, p. 791. 40. *Ibid.*, pp. 1199, 787, 771. 41. *Ibid.*, p. 787. 42. *Ibid.*, p. 778. 43. *Ibid.*, p. 778. 44. *Ibid.*, p. 773. 45. *Ibid.*, p. 789. 46. *Ibid.*, pp. 789-90. 47. *Ibid.*, p. 790. 48. *Ibid.*, p. 768. 49. *Ibid.*, p. 770. 50. *Ibid.*, p. 440. 51. *Ibid.*, p. 441. 52. *Ibid.*, p. 442. 53. *Ibid.*, p. 625. 54. *Ibid.*, p. 745. 55. *Ibid.*, p. 305. 56. *Ibid.*, p. 304. 57. *Ibid.*, pp. 799-800. 58. *Ibid.*, p. 438. 59. *Ibid.*, p. 601. 60. *Ibid.*, p. 1221.

61. *Chinese Immigration; its Social, Moral, and Political Effect*, Report to the California State Senate of its Special Committee on Chinese Immigration, 1878, p. 271.

62. *Report of the Joint Special Committee, op. cit.*, p. 1034.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 589-90. 64. *Ibid.*, p. 1067. 65. *Ibid.*, pp. 778-79. 66. *Ibid.*, p. 1091. 67. *Ibid.*, p. 1107. 68. *Ibid.*, p. 1092. 69. *Ibid.*, pp. 1030, 1033-35.

70. *Chinese Immigration*, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 248.

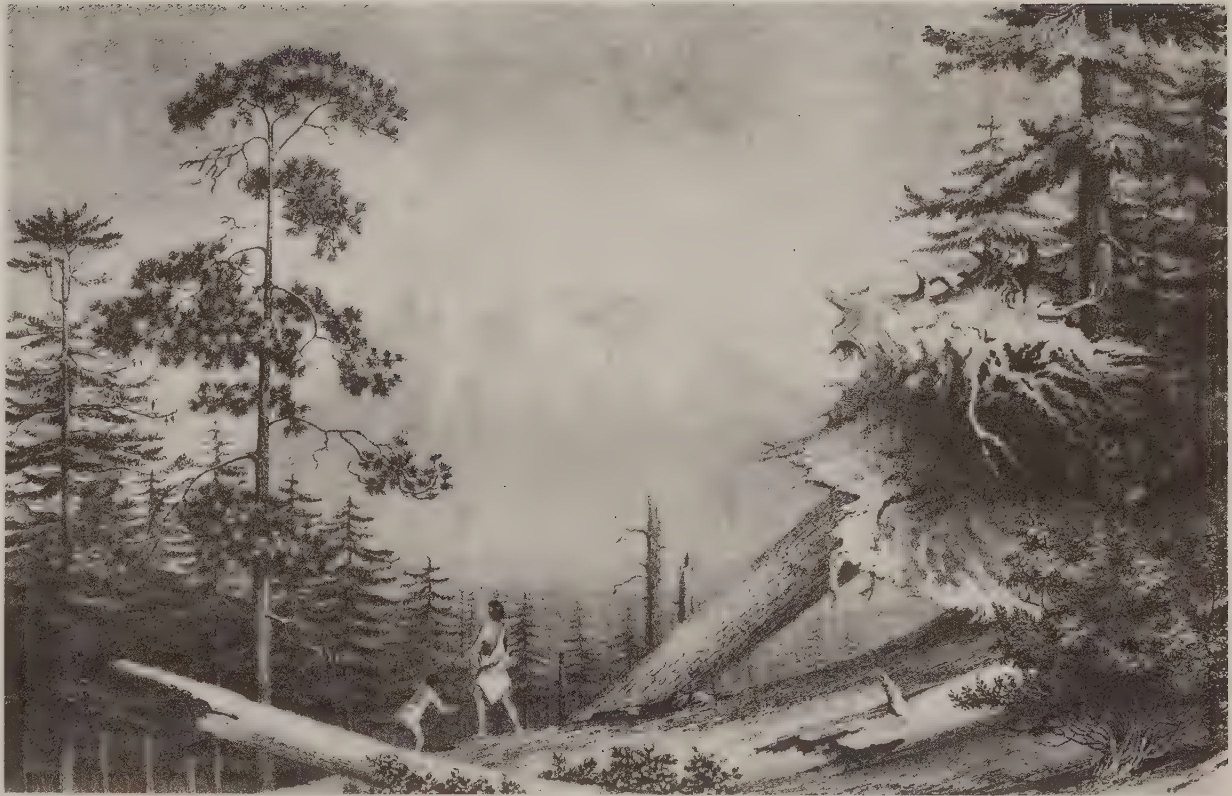
71. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

72. *Argonaut*, Dec. 29, 1877. Scrapbooks on Chinese Immigration, *op. cit.*, III, p. 78.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 590.

74. Scrapbooks, *op. cit.*, II, p. 4.

75. *Report of the Joint Spec. Com., op. cit.*, pp. 1067-68.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 1131.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 1029; Scrapbooks, *op. cit.*, II, p. 4.
78. *Report of the Joint Spec. Com., op. cit.*, pp. 1029-30.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 1092.
80. Scrapbooks, *op. cit.*, I, p. 67. Dr. Hugh J. Glenn, for whom Glenn County was named, came to California from Missouri in 1849. In 1867 he purchased 7000 acres of Rancho Jacinto (original grantee in 1844 was Jacinto Rodríguez), to which he made additions until by 1874 it totaled 55,000 acres. Forty-one thousand acres were planted to wheat. Rensch and Hoover, *Historic Spots in Califronia* (Stanford University Press, 1933), pp. 123-24.
81. Scrapbooks, *op. cit.*, I, p. 9.
82. *Report of the Joint Special Com., op. cit.*, p. 1138.
83. Fuller, *op. cit.*, p. 19811.
84. *Pacific Rural Press*, XXVI, 192.
85. California State Bur. of Labor Statistics, *First Bien. Rept.* (1883-84), pp. 10-11.
86. *Pacific Rural Press*, XXVI (1883), 290.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 294.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 379.
89. *Chinese Immigration*, House Rept. 4048, 51st Cong., 2d sess. (1891), pp. 527-28.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 377.



SHASTA PEAK, OCTOBER 3, 1841

From Charles Wilkes' *Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expedition* (during yrs. 1838–1842), Phila., 1850. Sketched by A. T. Agate; engraved by G. B. Ellis.

Shasta Was Shatasla in 1814

By ALICE BAY MALONEY

THE origin of the name Shasta made famous by the great volcano to which it now attaches," writes A. L. Kroeber, California Indian authority, "is veiled in doubt and obscurity. It seems most likely to have been the appellation of a person or chief of some consequence called Sasta." [1] In Hodge's North American Indians there is a list of variants of the name; some begin with the initial syllable Cha or Sha, others use the form Sas.[2] The fixing of the name of a nearby tribe of Indians upon the valley, river, and mountain was done on February 14, 1827, by Peter Skene Ogden, brigade leader of the Hudson's Bay Company from Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River. He was encamped with his fur trappers and hunters at the "Sasty Forks," and wrote in his journal that day: "I have named this river Sastise River. There is a mountain equal in height to Mt. Hood or Vancouver, I have named Mt. Sastise. I have given these names from the tribe of Indians." [3]

Recently there has come to the writer's attention an earlier recording of the name as "Shatasla," in possibly its more original phonetic rendering; and a re-examination of documents bearing on the communication of white men with the Shasta Indians has been made to secure all possible evidence on the forms used during the fur trade era with this tribe. Hodge dates these first trapper visits as having occurred early in the 19th century.[4]

The Shasta Indians held the Klamath River between the Karok tribe and the Lutamin Klamaths and Modocs, from a point between Indian and Thompson creeks to a spot a few miles above the mouth of Fall Creek. They occupied also the areas drained by the Scott and Shasta rivers, two California tributaries of the Klamath. Their limits in this direction were defined by the watershed that separates the Sacramento, the Trinity and the Salmon rivers. Eastward their boundary was also marked by drainage; it ran north, roughly, from Mount Shasta in California to Mount Pitt [correctly, Mount McLoughlin] in Oregon. Finally, Shasta territory comprised a tract on the north side of the Siskiyous in Oregon, along the affluents of Rogue River.[5] The Shasta people, it will be seen, were a border tribe, and, while no recognizable political barrier existed, nevertheless it is noteworthy that their first known contacts with white people came from the north, rather than from the earlier colonized region to the south, where in 1776 a Spanish mission had been established on San Francisco Bay. Anthropologists record that in culture, ". . . there are evidences of eastern influences from the Columbia River and Great Basin region . . . slaves were held by the Shasta as by the northwestern tribes." [6]

A brief review of Indian commerce between the Columbia River and northern California tribes will afford a picture of how the early communication with the Shasta Indians came about. In 1811, when Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia River, was founded by men of John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company, word spread throughout the Indians of the inland Pacific slope that from these white people might be secured guns, knives, hatchets, and trade goods, in exchange for beaver and other pelts. Hitherto the chief article of northern inter-tribal trade had been slaves, although other commodities were also bartered. The Astorians sought to establish friendly trade relations with tribes far from the fort. The Chinook Indians, on the north bank of the Columbia near its mouth, controlled interchanges in that region, while the Clatsop, Tillamook, and other Oregon coast tribes brought their furs directly to the headquarters. Some interior tribes were unfriendly and exacted tribute for passage through their lands, particularly the Wascos at the Dalles of the Columbia. An enterprising tribe was the Walla Walla who, with their cousins, the Cayuse, were great wanderers. They maintained communication with far-spread kinsmen and allies and were renowned purveyors of news. Fur traders as late as the 1840's sent messengers to them to learn what was going on in the hinterland and what rivals might be approaching. John Work in 1832 heard of the great battle at Pièrre's Hole from a Cayuse Indian shortly after it occurred, although the scene of the fray was far to the east of his encampment in central Oregon.[7] "Reports by way of Walla Walla that he [John Work] and his party have been killed, we do not believe," wrote Chief Factor McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver, August 31, 1833.[8] The story indicates that news of Work's encounter with Indians on the San Joaquin River had reached Walla Walla promptly, if in a somewhat exaggerated form.

The Walla Wallas held another key to western communication. As early as 1790 to 1800 they acquired horses and became traders in this commodity. Most of their stock was secured from the great central valley of California, where soon after 1800 the horse was an integral part of Indian culture.[9] The oldest known trail from the north into California was still, in 1864, called the Walla Walla road, as men journeyed over it to the Idaho mines. From their home on the present borders of Oregon and Washington State, where the Columbia bends westward, the Walla Walla traveled southwest across the semi-desert of central Oregon to Goose Lake and then down Pit River to Hat Creek. From Hat Creek they crossed the Cascade Range northwest of Mount Lassen to the headwaters of Cow Creek, which in turn, led them to the Sacramento Valley.

The Wasco and other Oregon tribes living downstream from the Walla Wallas used a road following the Des Chutes River and over a low divide to the Klamath Lake region. This trail was used by Peter Skene Ogden in 1827.

There were some picturesque features to Indian commerce between Oregon and California tribes. Dr. William McKay, son of Thomas McKay, the famous hunter, has left an interesting account of the annual fair held by the Indians at the Dalles. "This place was the central point of mart for all the adjacent tribes who resorted here in the summer during the fishing season from all quarters for the purpose of trafficing, gambling, and indulging in sports of various kinds. The Indians from the north and east brought for traffic, horses, buffalo robes, paurfleshes, furs of all descriptions, dressed skins of several qualities, ropes, dried buffalo meat, &c. The southern tribes brought Modoc, Pitt River, Chasty and California Indians – prisoners – to sell as slaves; elk, deer, mountain sheep and antelope skins, dried meat, furs of all qualities, ropes, hemp, dried and prepared roots – such as looks, kouse, saweet, nonas, kamas, peyha, quiya, semame, itallo and wocas – all very nutritious and part of their subsistence; all kinds of berries, such as mountain whortle, blue, savies, rasp, salal, salmon and straw; currants, cherries &c, which will keep for a long time when properly dried. The western tribes – those from the Cascades, and around Vancouver, Portland, Oregon City and Sauvies Island, brought prisoners from the coast, guns, ammunitions, clothing, blankets, cooking utensils, axes, knives, traps, fishhooks, files, tobacco, and whatever else they could procure from the fur traders at Fort Vancouver." [10]

Another observer of Indian customs, S. A. Clarke, recorded the story of the great annual Indian fair held at Yainax butte in the Sprague River country east of Klamath Lake. "Here at Yainax the great tribes sent emissaries to plan peace and to make war. Within sight of that butte I have held long talks with Modoc and Klamath chieftans who have woven the traditions of their tribes into form for my satisfaction." [11] In his book on Oregon Clarke recounted the tale of such a gathering as the Indians described: "Yainax was a convenient meeting place for tribes within hundreds of miles in all directions . . . When they came thus, such feasting, dancing and orgies took place as were seen nowhere in all the West, save under the shadows of Yainax. Klamaths, Modocs, Summer Lake Snakes to the east; Warm Springs people from the north; Shastas and Pitt Rivers from Northern California; all those fraternized, and each October, when the earth had yielded its fruits at command of the summer sun, they met here in grand conclave, with Nez Perce and Cayuses, and others from the Cascades to the Rockies; from California to the Columbia River . . . Here also was the great slave mart of the mid-mountain region." [12]

These Indian fairs at Wasco and Yainax antedated the arrival of white men and were still held as late as 1870.

The North West Company of Montreal took over Astoria in 1813, and plans for extension of fur gathering were soon underway. They renamed the post Fort George and put their clerks in charge of affairs. It is in the journal of one of these that we find entries of interest. Alexander Henry, in pursuit of his duties, went from Fort George to the Willamette Valley by canoe, to visit the post near the present town of Newberg kept by William Henry. On January 25th, 1814, he wrote: "... the day before we arrived here Grand Nipissangue, one of our hunters, was pursued by 10 horsemen. He attempted to escape but being nearly overtaken ran into a thicket where he took his station behind a large tree and presented his rifle. Seeing him ready to fire, they stopped, and by signs showed him they intended no harm. An old man who seemed to be chief among them, dismounted and gave him to understand that they did not wish white people to come up this river; that our guns had driven away the deer or made them so wild that they could no longer be killed by bows and arrows and finally, that if we did not abandon the river they would drive us away. After I left that place [Willamette House] three of the party that had pursued Grand Nipissangue on the 21st arrived. They said they were of the Walla Walla, Shatasla and Halthypum (Cayuse) nations; they were very civil and wished traders to winter among them where they say beaver are numerous." [13]

Henry wrote again on March 20, when he was back at Fort George: "The last of the free Americans, John Day, Carson and Canning arrived from the Willamette." [14] These Americans were hunters and trappers, who had crossed the country from the Mississippi River by attaching themselves to parties of the great fur companies which were glad of the extra men, especially as they were expert marksmen. Alexander Carson, John Day and William Canning had come with the land Astorians.[15] Three freemen of whom little is known were Flanagan, Mulligan and Baker.[16] These men maintained themselves and their Indian wives and children by trapping and hunting and were not dependent on the fur companies nor under their orders. They joined brigades as it suited their pleasure and necessity. They were enterprising and adventurous, skilled woodsmen, and often were given dangerous errands as scouts in unexplored regions.

Henry gives proof of this last as he wrote: "March 29th [1814], Arrangements made with J. Day, Carson and other freemen on halves for Spanish River." [17] This use of Spanish River for the Sacramento, probably, is an interesting note. "We called California Spain in those days," [18] said Marie Aplin, of Indian lineage, to an interviewer. There is little doubt but that the invitation of the Shatasla to establish traders among their people had been accepted by the North West Company. Alexander Carson was to visit California several times in later years as gunsmith with Hudson's Bay Company brigades.

The system of large trapping parties in the region south of the Columbia was adopted [by the North West Company] about 1816 in which two departments were created. One under Keith was for the coastal region, the other under McKenzie comprised the inland region. The North West Company worked up the Willamette and across the Umpqua River.[19] Peter

Skene Ogden in his 1827 journal makes mention of parties of hunters in the Shasta region prior to his visit. January 18, 1827, while encamped on Lower Klamath Lake he wrote: "I am wretched! No beaver! The country trapped by Mr. Ross three years since."[20] And again, while encamped in Shasta country on the Rogue River, he wrote: "March 22, 1827, Reached a fine large river having crossed the mtns. where we threw our horses over the banks – storm of wind and rain Saturated us – course W. Our guide went to visit the Indians and returned with the information the Umpqua chief with the trappers from the Willamette had visited this region and taken all the beaver."[21] Another party under Finan McDonald and Thomas McKay of the Hudson's Bay Company penetrated, "south of the Klamath," as far as Sheep Rock in present Siskiyou county in 1825.[22]

The meaning of the name Shasta is still in doubt but its appearance in documented history is set back to January, 1814, by the record in Alexander Henry's journal. His untimely death by drowning in the Columbia River in May, 1814, has robbed us of further knowledge of this early expedition; but as the Hudson's Bay Record Society of London has planned publication of the complete journals of Peter Skene Ogden in the near future, we have promise of some new and valuable material on the history of northern California. The name Shasta in its present form has seen numerous changes: Shasty, Chaste, Chestet, Sastise, Chasty. In 1814, Shasta was *Shatasla.*

NOTES

1. A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of California Indians*, Bur. Am. Ethnol., Bull. 78 (Washington, D. C.: Gov't Printing Office, 1925), p. 225.
2. Frederick Webb Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, Bur. Am. Ethnol., Bull. 30 (Washington, D. C.: Gov't Printing Office, 1907), II, 527.
3. Thompson Coit Elliott, Ed., "The Journals of Peter Skene Ogden," *Oregon Historical Quarterly*, XI (1910), 213.
4. Hodge, *op. cit.*, p. 528.
5. Kroeber, *op. cit.*, p. 285.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 288, 296.
7. Alice Bay Maloney, Ed., *Fur Brigade to the Bonaventura* (San Francisco: California Historical Society Sp. Publ. No. 19, 1945), p. 4.
8. Edwin Ernest Rich and W. Kaye Lamb, Eds., *The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee, First Ser., 1825–38*, Hudson's Bay Record Society, Publs. Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Company Series (Toronto and London, 1941), IV, 112.
9. Maloney, *op. cit.*, p. 92, ft. note 113 (by Rob't F. Heizer).
10. Dr. William McKay, "The Early History of the Dalles," Dalles (Oregon) *Mountaineer*, May 28, 1869.
11. *Anon.* (S. A. Clarke), "A Century Ago," *The West Shore*, V (June 1879), 164.
12. S. A. Clarke, *Pioneer Days of Oregon History* (Portland, 1905), I, 119.
13. Elliot Coues, Ed., *A New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest.* The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and David Thompson (New York, 1897), II, 817.

14. Phillip Ashton Rollins, *The Discovery of the Oregon Trail* (New York, 1935), p. 312.

15. Coues, *op. cit.*, II, 827.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 856.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 861.

18. Fred Lockley, *History of the Columbia River Valley* (Chicago, 1928), p. 707.

19. Charles Gordon Davidson, *History of the North West Company*, Univ. of Calif. Publs. in History (Berkeley, 1916), VII, 165.

20. Elliott, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 217.

22. Yreka *Journal*, July 12, 1876.

California Emigrant Letters

Compiled by Walker D. Wyman

V. OVERLAND IN 1850

Progressing Well

Sac and Fox Territory, 57 miles from St. Joseph, Mo.
May 19, 1850

ONCE more I find myself on the wide spreading plains, and mingling with the great western tide of California emigrants. We are all pushing on briskly and quite pleasantly toward our grand goal. The emigrants this year are finely situated; good dry roads, with a plenty of grass out a little way. Some 3,000 wagons are ahead of us on this route, (a little more than I had last year) and from what I can see I cannot conclude that the emigration this year is larger than last; the roads are far better, and also the grass; the wood is getting very scarce. The first emigrants suffered severely. [They] started too soon, anticipating grass and taking a few days feed, and the cold late spring caught them out without grass. We see frequent dead horses on the road. All are starting light loaded, and some even on foot, attempting to pack provisions on their back. I fear such must suffer for I know none who can spare them any. The Boone people are mostly forward, though some are near and others behind us. We are progressing finely having made 23 miles to-day. Our company are all well and in fine spirits. At the ferry at St. Jo. the Kickapoos demanded a toll of 10cts per wagon, for crossing their territory, and at Wolf creek we had another 25 cts. to pay for crossing a bridge. There are more horse teams, and more light teams going this year than last.

General good health obtains among the emigration, and I see no reason for their friends to expect anything but a prosperous journey for them. To-morrow we will reach the big Nimehaw [sic], and then onward for the Blue. For the present farewell till you hear again from your old friend &c.

"Old Boone," to Col. W. F. Switzler
Weekly Missouri *Statesman*, June 7, 1850

Getting Along "Finely," Passing All Teams

Little Blue, May 17, 1849

Here we all are 270 miles west of Independence and all well and travelling on finely. Our spirits were enlivened to-day by a back mail with late news from California, and we are a merry, whistling, whip-cracking crowd; and can almost fancy ourselves through the trip and its troubles and back at home again . . . laden with shining Californians. We are getting on finely, with good roads and cool weather, at the tune of 20 and 25 miles a day, and our stock rather improving. We passed within the last three days 150 teams, and are fast overtaking others. There are now within sight of us perhaps near 200 wagons stretched out in long lines over the undulating plains. I perhaps placed my estimate of the numbers in my last rather too low; it may reach 12,000 or more, yet we are all decidedly ahead of the mass. Those who started first are falling behind with exhausted teams, and we shall overhaul hundreds within a few days. We shall reach the Platte tomorrow and then for a pull at buffalo, for which we are getting very impatient. Some of our amateur huntsmen have already scoured the vales around in search of some veteran of the herd, but as yet without effect, the beautiful antelope alone peers over some ridge and flies away with the fleetness of the wind. Dr. Lenoir and his mess have lost their wagon, but no other has at all failed, and they are refitted with another and move on much better. Some enterprising frontiersman has brought up back mails for the emigrants, with papers, and promises us on his return to take letters for us all to St. Joseph at 25 cents each and he will make quite a speculation, for all will send one or two to friends and families. He talks of returning soon again and going on to the mountains, which he might do with the utmost safety, for there are many lone travellers and solitary teams which move on with impunity. The Indians seem to have all scampered off or they never were here, for we have not seen one for nearly 150 miles. There is far more danger of white men purloining stock from Indians. Some skulking dogs were caught this morning by a neighboring train posting off with their mules and only escaped by the swiftest flight. The valleys of the Blue are truly beautiful, but not fertile, nor well timbered, and the ridges around seem incapable of producing anything beyond buffalo grass. But I must close as the glad cry of supper is raised around our camp fire, so good bye till you hear again from your friend.

"Old Boone," to Col. W. F. Switzler
Missouri *Statesman,* June 8, 1849

Emigrants at the Little Blue

Little Blue, May 21, 1850

Expecting an opportunity of sending in letters to the States tomorrow, I hastily pen for you a few items. We left St. Joseph on the 9th. The grass upon the plains was not then sufficient for the subsistence of our teams but by hauling a few days' feed of grain we have got on well enough. Even at this time the grass is quite short. In three or four days however we shall be upon the Big Platte where it is plentiful.

The Californians generally, are in high spirits and good health moving on bravely toward their point of destination. Some little sickness has made its appearance lately, and cases of fever, plurisy [sic] etc. not infrequently occur. Between the Big Blue River and this place we have passed four "newly made graves" – one of R. Melone of Huntsville, who accidentally shot himself through the head. Unfortunate ones! they have a lonesome resting place instead of the realization of their golden dreams.

The crowd upon this route is perfectly astonishing. In travelling hours the wagons block the road as far as eye can see. It is impossible to camp within any short distance of the road without being surrounded with trains. It is not uncommon for 12 to 15 caralls [sic] to be in sight of our camp. Last Friday we passed the junction of the Independence and St. Joseph routes. The former from appearance has not been much travelled yet: and from gentlemen who came that way, I learn that over two-thirds of the emigrants from that point are yet behind. The only mark those early trains have left behind them is the trees cut down here upon the Little Blue to brouse their teams upon after their grain had given out.

We meet more or less returning Californians everyday. They all exhibit woful [sic] physiognomies and have many wonderful tales to tell us of the elephant ahead. These backsliders are very useful to the emigrants as they supply the place of a mail and can always tell how far ahead to wood and water. Nearly one half of the emigration upon the St. Jo route have horse teams. They pass us now in a quite gaily style but before they get beyond the sink of St. Mary's or ascend the Sierra Nevada I fear we shall have opportunity to return the compliment.

There is a tribe of white Indians upon these plains at this time that are more dangerous than the Pawnees. They carry on horse and mule stealing pretty extensively and even oxen do not escape their attention. One of these gentlemen who had been caught was undergoing trial yesterday evening – have not heard the result.

These few lines I send to the St. Jo P. Office by a trader who has been to Fort Laramie. We heard of no complaints among the emigrants ahead and that the first trains instead of having broken down their teams are getting on finely.

W. R. R., to Col. Switzler
Weekly Missouri *Statesman*, June 14, 1850

Company too Large, But Making Progress and Having Fun

Camp in the Valley of Little Blue
May 24, 1850

Because of the illness of one of our company (Mr. James Austin, who has had the measles for several days,) we are lying by to-day, and I embrace this leisure time to sketch you a few lines apprising you of our progress westward. Our company was organized on the 15th by electing H. H. Wilkerson Captain, with 39 men and 10 wagons – all Boone county emigrants. Since that time 5 other wagons have joined the company, making in all 57 men, 15 wagons, and 103 head of animals. We are this far on our journey without any serious accident or misfortune of any kind. Several of our teams have run away, and upon one occasion five were running at one time, but fortunately they were stopped without serious injury to either animals or wagons. We have been favored thus far with fine weather and dry roads. The grass when we started was quite short, but by hauling feed we have gotten along very comfortably without injury to our stock; indeed many of them are in better order now than when we left home. We have made good drives every day. The grass is now getting very fine. We have passed a great number of ox-teams, and some horse and mule teams, and expect to pass a great many more between this and the North Platte. From all the information I can get we are about in the centre of the emigration. I was told yesterday evening by Mr. Rubidoux, whom we met upon his return to St. Jo. from off a trading expedition among the Indians, that there were 5,000 wagons ahead of us between this and Fort Laramie, his son having kept an account of all they met. He also told me that he met David H. Hickman and Co. at Ash Hollow; says they were getting along well; thinks there will be two ferry companies on the North Platte besides theirs, and that all will make money. There is but little sickness among the emigrants this spring. I have not heard of but two cases of cholera on the road.

Our company is rather too large. We experience some little inconvenience in crossing bad places, nevertheless we are getting along smoothly and quietly – no family quarrels.

We are a "rough and ready" set of looking chaps. Could you step into our camp this evening and see our long beards and sunburnt visages methinks you would come to the conclusion that we were all the immediate descendants of Esau. Some of the company are so fitch taked [?] ugly with their long beards and tanned faces that they can't even sleep at night. Our old friend G. W. Wills being considered the ugliest man in the company, has by unanimous consent carried the "Jack Knife." The opinion of the company however is rapidly undergoing a change and I think in a very few days friend Wills will have to fork the knife over to Harvey G. Berry – his title being the best.

The whole camp was thrown into a fit of excitement this morning by the appearance of a large drove of Buffalo. They no sooner made their appearance, than they were charged upon by at least 30 men, horse foot and dragoons were all out in full chase. It was truly an exciting and interesting scene. The chase was kept up for about an hour, when five out of the drove were murdered and the most choice bits brought into camp. We are now, as you may well suppose, feasting on the good things of the world.

A BOONE EMIGRANT, to Col. W. F. Switzler
Weekly Missouri *Statesman*, June 21, 1850

Indian Scare at the Kansas Crossing

Union Post, Upper Crossing of Kansas River
June 5, 1850

A feud is at present existing between the Pottawatomies and Pawnees. Three weeks ago some horses belonging to the Potawatomies were stolen immediately west of the Catholic Mission, twelve miles from here, by the Pawnees. On discovering their loss, the Pottawatomies pursued the thieves, killed three, brought in the scalps, and recovered the horses. Since then several false alarms as the invasion of the country by a Pawnee army, have taken place. Parties of armed Pottawatomies, Sacs, and Foxes went out to scour the country and give them battle. They proceeded some sixty or seventy miles west of this, and returned reporting no Pawnees. This Indian excitement caused no little uneasiness among some of the more timid emigrants. The most incongruous and laughable reports were put in circulation, originating probably from the following circumstance. One of the Pawnees killed, as before stated, had his "war trophy" about his person, which was, of course, taken possession of by his victor. It is a piece of scarlet cloth, about twelve inches by six inches square, worked with beads and quills, and having in it, pendant therefrom, eight skeins of human hair, and forty of horse hair. Three skeins of the human hair were white men's, and five black Indian hair, thus giving evidence of the Pawnee's prowess as warrior and horse stealer. The fact of the white men's hair on the trophy caused the alarm of the emigrants above spoken of but we see no cause for the belief that the white men's scalps were recently taken. The man killed is represented as a man of some forty years of age, and may have been a warrior . . . for twenty years!

The Pottawatomies and their allies, the Sacs and Foxes, are on the alert. If the Pawnees should come down, they will meet with a warm reception!

Missouri *Republican*, June 16, 1850

Emigration on the Independence Road

Union Post, Upper Crossing of Kansas River
June 5, 1850

Thinking you will have no objection to receive some information in regard to the spring's emigration to California by way of this place and vicinity, it may be stated that it began about the middle of April – much too soon for the season – for the weather has been so cold, and the grass so backward till within three weeks ago, that animals could not possibly thrive and perform the work required of them, without feeding on corn, every grain of which was taken up here, while it lasted, at $1.50 per bushel. No regular records have been kept on the different ferries on this river, of the numbers of persons, animals, and teams; yet, from the estimates of the ferrymen, we may assume that about 2,750 wagons have crossed, and about 4,000 head of loose cattle, in droves of from 150 to 350, viz: cows and calves, young steers, and yearlings. If we (including those who travel with pack-mules and ponies) estimate four persons to the team (which is certainly a low average) it will show that through this neighborhood alone 11,000 persons have passed on their way to California and Oregon. A few of the earlier teams, after having crossed the Blue Fork of Kansas, and [continued] between that stream and the Platte, have returned reporting no grass and very cold weather; others again have taken the back track, having lost some of their members by sickness, said to be small pox and cholera, although in general the health of the country is good. This is evident from so few deaths among so many people. If cholera has existed, it must have been of the sporadic kind; a few fatal cases of small pox occurred, but it did not spread.

Missouri *Republican*, June 16, 1850

Grass Needed

Near Platte River, May 10, 1850

We left St. Joseph on Sunday the 28th of April and are now encamped within ten miles of the Platte river, which makes it about 260 miles out; we will probably get to Fort Kearney to-morrow. We have had little or no grass yet and the prospects are bad as it is cool and dry. We left St. Jo. with about 25 bushels of grain to the team and have about 10 bushels to the team left. Our company consists of 8 wagons and 36 men.

The roads are fine and we are all getting along very well and without any fuss, though if we don't get grass in 5 or 6 days I can't tell what will become of us. I must come to a close, as it is now about 12 o'clock and I am very much fatigued. I will write again the first opportunity. I send this by a Government train.

W. H. Northcutt to Col. W. F. Switzler
Weekly Missouri *Statesman*, June 14, 1850

A Forty-Niner Has Better Record in 1850

Great Platte, 300 miles from St. Joseph
May 29, 1850

It gives me special pleasure to address you once more from these great plains. Our company are all well and have made our drive to this point in 12 days, an average of 25 a day; a most extraordinary drive for oxen. The Emigration have fine roads this season, but rather poor grass; it is so dry here that it is quite poor, and if it should be as dry on the mountains, I cannot tell what is to become of the stock. Many of the stock are already failing by the way. Fine health generally prevails, and the crowds are generally moving on in fine spirits, tho' we see many long sour faces, taking the retrograde march. There are more I suppose going this year than last by far, and the mule and horse teams are chiefly in the advance, for some sharp trader brought up 800 bushels of corn from Tacs, to Laramie, and sold it out at $8 a bushel, and thus aided the most forward. Indians so far are very quiet, and but few stock are lost, though the men guard cautiously. We have buffalo around us, but have no time to hunt them. The Boone boys who have mule teams are ahead of us, but those with oxen, with or behind us. I expect to make the Diggings by the 20th of Aug. I have beat my drive of last year to this point 5 days. In conclusion, I can only repeat for the satisfaction of our friends, that our company are all well and getting on well and cheerfully . . .

F. T. Russell, to Col. W. F. Switzler
Weekly Missouri *Statesman*, June 12, 1850

Scenes at Ft. Kearney

Ft. Kearney, May 21, 1850

The first train en route for the gold regions reached this point on the 13th of April. Their stock were in but poor condition, and having no grass and but little grain, they must have suffered extremely, although I have heard nothing of them since they passed this point. From that time up to the date of this letter, the number of wagons that have passed this point amount to twenty seven hundred and fifty-four; there has been an average of about four and a half men to each wagon, and a total of about seventy-six ladies.

The emigration has started at least one month too soon this year. It is now over a month since the first train passed, and there is scarcely a sufficiency of grass for the animals and cattle to subsist on. A number of persons, in the early part of the emigration, set fire to the prairie "to see it burn," never dreaming of the injury they were inflicting upon those coming behind them. This has been very injurious to the emigration, and it is supposed will cause a great deal of trouble in California. Several persons have been heard to say that "This affair is not ended yet," and persons names have been ascertained, who have acted thus imprudently, and there is not a doubt in the mind of anyone here, but that there will be a fuss about it when all hands meet in the diggings.

On the 29th of April, a Scotchman passed here with a wheelbarrow, refusing to join any company, saying in his own peculiar dialect, "Na, na, mun, I ken ye'll all break doon in the mountains, an I'll gang along mysel'." He appeared to be a man about 35 years of age, well armed, and did not appear to be in the least fatigued.

A man by the name of Lyons, from Iowa, lost four mules and three horses on the 19th of this month, by a stampede; some of his men pursued them, and found them in the possession of a party of Indians, who refused to give them up. Major Chilton, on hearing of it, ordered a party of dragoons to go and recover the animals. When the party came to the wagons where the remainder of the company were, they heard so many contradictory reports about the runaway animals, that they were compelled to return.

The emigration has not suffered by the Indians at all this year, and seven-eighths of them have not seen an Indian from the time they left St. Joseph until they reached this point.

"OBSERVER"
Missouri *Republican*, June 15, 1850

Busy as a Whig Editor

Fort Kearney, May 26, 1850

Not meeting with an opportunity to send you what I had written on the 24th until I reached this place, I will hastily add a few more words. I am sorry to inform you that James Austin is no more. He breathed his last on the evening of the 24th and was decently intered [sic] on the morning of the 25th. A more noble and generous hearted young man never lived. As a Mess-mate friend and companion he was loved and esteemed by all. But alas! he is gone – gone to the world of spirits.

Up to the 24th day of this month there had passed this place 3,462 wagons, averaging 4½ men to the wagon. The first emigration passed the 13th of April. We have not yet come to the junction of the Council Bluff road with ours, and have no means of ascertaining the number that have traveled that route. We have traveled hard on to 30 miles to-day – passed between 4 and 500 wagons. Among other trains passed to-day was one called "the Jacks Family emigrating Company" – in which [were] 17 families all from Jackson county, Mo. I thought when I left home that my opportunities for writing would be better than they have been; but I find that if a man does his duty upon this trip, he is kept as busy as a whig editor and has little time to write.

"A Boone Emigrant," to Col. W. F. Switzler
Weekly Missouri *Statesman*, June 12, 1850

"Novel Spectacles"

Fort Kearney, May 29, 1850

According to promise, I drop you these few lines. Our teams camped ten miles below here last night, and I hastened on this morning for the purpose of writing. I have arrived and find the place crowded with men on the same business. Not finding a place more convenient I have placed a plank against a wall and am now writing in the broad open sunshine. I learn from the Post Master that up to this date five thousand wagons have passed this place. We have passed since we left St. Joseph, at least two thousand.

The grass up to this point is tolerable good; but we learn that it is scant ahead. The emigration to California this year presents some novel spectacles. I see men travelling in every way you could imagine. Some a-foot with packs on their backs; some with carts; some with drays, one horse hitched before the other; and to cap the climax, we passed two fellows yesterday whose outfit consisted of one old white cow, which they had packed and were leading. It occurred to me that it was the most convenient outfit that I had seen – the cow furnishing them not only with transportation, but also with the means of subsistence.

O. Guitar, to Col. W. F. Switzler
Weekly Missouri *Statesman,* June 21, 1850

The Wave Reaches Ft. Laramie

Ft. Laramie, May 4, 1850

The entire Yankee nation is once more on the move towards the gold mines of California, and are rushing ahead with an impetuousity that throws the "furor" of the last year far in the shade.

Although there is scarcely grass enough yet on the prairies to satisfy an antelope, sixty-nine wagons, and about three hundred and thirty men have already passed this post, and many more are but a short distance behind.

The first company, consisting of twenty-four men, with six light wagons, reached here on the 29th of April. It was from Kendall country, Ill., and commanded by S. B. Craw.

The second company, from Wayne county, Ohio, under Capt. Denison, and numbering two hundred and fifty men with fifty wagons, came in today, and close on their heels was Captain Burrough's company from Kendall county, Ill., with fifty men and fourteen wagons. Five men and one wagon from Rock Island, Ill., also reached here today.

All these trains are provided with forage up to this point, and are well fitted out. The experience of last year does not appear to have been lost, for not a gold digger, gold washer, saw mill or steamboat has yet been seen amongst the baggage of the emigrants. They have brought with them only such things as are necessary.

It is said that the emigration across the Plains this year will be double what it was last – a statement difficult to be believed by a person who had to stem the current of last summer. The Indians begin to talk of emigrating to the East.

All has been quiet at this post during the winter, but the inundation of the gold diggers has completely upset us. The California fever begins to show itself in the most malignant form, and is rapidly spreading amongst the laborers, teamsters, carpenters, etc. Its ravages amongst the troops are not quite so severe, as the medicines used to subdue it are wholesome and powerful.

A large party is forming amongst the Indian traders in this vicinity, and will leave in about ten days.

"CHEYENNE"
Missouri *Republican*, June 15, 1850

What Has Broken Loose in the States?

Fort Laramie, May 14, 1850

What has broken loose in the States? . . . About every five minutes during the day, a white top wagon with a pick-axe slung to its side, rolls in from the frontier, stops a few minutes, while the driver, with the "want of gold" stamped upon his appearance, enquires for the *shortest cut to* California, and then disappears over the prairies in the direction of the Pacific. But, seriously, this California gold must be turning the nation crazy. All honest and industrious pursuits appear to be abandoned for the precious occupation of gold digging, which at best, is nothing more than a grand lottery where the blanks far outnumber the prizes. Should California, however, yield the amount of gold that it is anticipated she will, God grant that the evils which have inevitably befallen other nations making similar discoveries, may be warded off from ours.

Up to the present date, as well as can be ascertained, nine hundred and fifty men, and two hundred and fifteen wagons have passed this place for the mines. Last year at this time, not a person had made his appearance.

All represent that the emigration of this year will be double that of last. Should this estimate prove correct over 50,000 persons and 12,000 wagons will cross, or rather attempt to cross the mountains this season.

"Cheyenne"
Missouri *Republican*, June 9, 1850

Description of Emigration Seen at Ft. Laramie

Fort Laramie, May 14, 1850

As was the case last year, all kinds and descriptions of persons, from the poor devil without a cent in his pocket and scarcely a rag to his back, to the well conditioned individual with his pockets well lined are now seen pushing in hot haste towards the West. The most distinguished character who has yet made his appearance this Spring is the "wheel barrow man" who dropped upon us yesterday. He left St. Joseph about twenty-five days ago carrying his all in a light wheel barrow, and has out-stripped almost everything on the road. He appeared in high spirits and felt confident that he would be the first man in the "diggings" by this route. He enquired how the *grass* was ahead, but reckoned his animals wouldn't want much, and then pushed on to the tune of Yankee Doodle towards the setting sun – such a man must succeed.

The strangest set of all however that has yet made its advent is a party of footmen numbering some fifteen or twenty. These men carry everything on their backs, provisions, blankets and all. They look a little the worse for wear, but appear to get along well. They may possibly succeed in passing from post to post until they reach Fort Hall, but how they are to reach California from that point, a distance of over 800 miles, is a problem that only they themselves can solve.

Several emigrants have been left here sick in charge of the surgeons of the Post . . .

There has been but one death on the road thus far . . . Another man was brought in to-day with one of his legs broken. Maj. Sanderson, the officer in command, renders every assistance to the emigrants that lies in his power, so that all, unless their wants are too numerous, go on their way rejoicing.

"Cheyenne"
Missouri *Republican*, June 9, 1850

Overland Amid Suffering

Sacramento City, July 29, 1850

I started with a large company from Oquawka, Illinois, fitted out with four horse trains. We left the Missouri river on the 26th [of] April, from Council Bluffs. Up the Platte, a country destitute of timber, we made a quick trip to Fort Laramie; although we had no *grass whatever*, the dead grass having been burned by the immigrants ahead of us . . . Who these men . . . were I could not learn. From Fort Laramie, we found an excellent road across the Black Hills; up the Sweetwater, a beautiful stream, we had no difficulty whatever; across the Rocky Mountains we found good grass all the way, and had a rain storm every day. (This will prove almost incredible to last year's immigrants.)

Arriving at Fremont's "Place of Fountains," we struck Hudspeth's Cutoff, a delightful road, traversing the most romantic regions I ever travelled. From Raft river to the Humboldt we met no serious obstruction, but the trip from Stoney Point to El Dorado, will not soon be forgotten. Here was much suffering. Men who never before knew want had to walk over dusty roads and parched plains; some were entirely without provisions or money, and had to beg and even steal their food. I saw one party who had lived six days on a few pounds of coffee.

One man from Wisconsin, having lost his provisions in crossing Green river, lived for two weeks on four pounds of pilot bread. But enough of this. Suffice it to say, when on the Sierra Nevada, even some of those who had heretofore been well supplied, having lost by theft, were compelled to dispose of horses for flour, at the rate of a horse for ten pounds, I saw several horses which had the steaks taken off them – some men who possessed too much honesty to steal being forced to this. Our company all came through safely however, being only reduced to a short allowance on the Nevada.

The inquiry will very naturally be made, what was the cause of all this suffering? My answer is, that the immigrants, generally this year started with not enough provisions, mostly expecting to make the trip in a much shorter time than it was accomplished.

Again, many persons took the "Lawson" or "Green horn Cut-off," and, in returning again to the old route, lost much time.

My note is hastily written, and I have ommitted many incidents which might be deemed interesting by those who have never taken the trip. I have said nothing of the immense destruction of property; swimming rivers and wading in alkali sloughs; the seranading of mosquitoes; the lonely waste, with no trace of any green thing, except perhaps a few gold-smitten immigrants. Let these things be buried in the water of Lethe.

S. H. N. Patterson, formerly editor of
Oquawka (Illinois) *Spectator*, to the *Placer Times*
St. Joseph *Adventure*, Sept. 27, 1850

Remember the Donner Party

Great Meadows, Humboldt River
Sept. 12, 1850

Many women are on the road with families of children, who have lost their husbands by cholera, and who never will cross the mountains without aid. I have met intelligent packers who left Missouri river on the 1st day of July; they concur in the statement, that there are yet twenty thousand back of the Desert. Fifteen thousand of this number are now destitute of all kinds of provisions; yet the period of the greatest suffering has not yet arrived, if the supposition be correct, twenty-five thousand are yet back of the Sink. It will be morally impossible for ten thousand of this number to reach the mountains before the commencement of winter; and the probability is, that they will then find these mountains covered with snow from five to twenty feet deep. All remember the fate of the Donner party.

Capt. Waldo
Sacramento *Transcript*, Sept. 29,
1850, quoted by St. Joseph *Adventure*,
November 29, 1850

Emigrants are Starving

Great Meadows, Truckee River
Sept. 15, 1850

From Boiling Springs to this place (Great Meadows) I have met with but few who have any provisions at all, except the poor exhausted animals which have worked from the States. Footmen, who comprise nearly one-fourth of the number now on the road, are not blessed even with such food as this, but are reduced to the necessity of subsisting on the putrefied flesh of such dead animals as so abundantly line the road. This has produced the most fatal consequences. Disease and death are now mowing them down by hundreds.

Those emigrants that are yet back several hundred miles must receive relief, or die by starvation; and to whom can they look but to the citizens of California for their salvation. The land of their homes is too far distant to render aid in this hour of distress and danger. When I left your city, the scarcity of money was pled as an excuse for not contributing for the relief of the emigrants. If dust is scarce, finger-rings and breast-coins are not. There are enough of them in California to send bread to every starving emigrant between Green River and the Sierra Nevada mountains. And I would ask, is it possible for an American to wear a ring without blushing with shame . . .

Capt. Waldo
Sacramento *Transcript*, Sept. 29,
1850, quoted by St. Joseph *Adventure*,
Nov. 29, 1850

Emigrants Deluded

Sacramento City, Sept. 6, 1850

For several days before leaving the station, I sought from every available source, information about the numbers and condition of the immigration still behind, the result of which satisfied me that there were about 10,000 on the way this side of Salt Lake and Bear river who had not crossed the Great Desert, at least one-half of whom would be destitute of teams and subsistence before reaching Carson river. About one-half of these immigrants were deluded by false reports, and led to take a wrong road from Salt Lake, leading around to the south of the Lake and uniting with the old road on Humboldt river, about 200 miles above the Sink. The distance by this road is greatly increased, and a desert about nineteen miles long has to be crossed.

Most of the animals on this route perished on the desert, and not under the hardships of the road, but perished for want of water and food. Those who are fortunate enough to get over the desert, will have to travel nearly three hundred miles before they reach Carson River, and but few of them will reach this point with any means to purchase subsistence. I was credibly informed that several thousand persons, among them many families, took this road; but up to the time of my leaving Johnson's station only a few of these persons (no families) had passed on their way in, thus leaving room for the fear that much suffering is behind among this body of the immigrants.

At the time of my departure from Johnson's station provisions were exceedingly scarce among both immigrants and traders, but I met on the road large supplies in the hand of enterprising traders. I think, therefore, the amount of provisions enroute to the desert in the hands of traders, and the amount lately sent forward by the active benevolence of the citizens of California may be sufficient to supply the immigrants.

The Carson river seems to be the only road traveled by immigrants, in great numbers, the Truckee route having been abandoned on account of high water and other causes.

Col. A. R. Ralston, to the "Committee on Relief"
St. Joseph *Adventure*, Nov. 8, 1850

Overland in 1850

CALIFORNIA, Nov. 10, 1850

I hardly know where to begin, or what to say in regard to the trip, an every day's travel being sufficient to give material for a letter of itself. Although the trip was hard throughout, yet we did not know what hardships were until reaching the Humboldt river. At Fort Laramie we learned that there were ten thousand ahead of us. For about a hundred miles from Fort Laramie, we had tolerable grass up the mountains; after that, we had scarcely any. We were never out of sight of snow for a day at a time, from the time we first caught a glimpse of the Rocky Mountains until now. We cut up our remaining wagon seventeen miles east of the south pass, and packed the balance of the way, having sold one wagon before for $15. While we were packing, we laid by for three days, and it snowed on us every day, and in guarding our horses at night we would nearly freeze. We reached the south pass I think about the 18th of June; there was no grass after getting a hundred miles up the mountain, of any importance, except as we could find it in small patches some distance from the road, and a few scattering spears that the horses could pick from among the sage bushes, until we reached Bear river on the Sublette cut-off. Up this river we had very fine grass. We took the Sublette cut-off, and some other cut-off, leaving Fort Hall eighteen or twenty miles to our right, and Mormon City about 150 to 200 miles to our left which was nearer by about 100 miles than the Salt Lake route. Soon after entering on the Sublette cut-off, we had to cross a desert of 55 miles in length, which we did in the night, without stopping until morning. [Here we were] about five miles of the end, at Green River. On Green river we found no grass, and were detained until evening in crossing, when we went four miles and found grass, nearly at night, making 24 hours that our horses were without grass (except a little that they picked when we stopped five miles from Green river on the desert,) and 36 hours from Green river, we struck for Bear river, up which stream, for about 75 or 100 miles, we had fine grass and a plenty of musquitoes [sic]; the marks of some of their bites I carried with me to California, (1,000 miles.) We kept up the valleys of a good many smaller streams, after leaving Bear river, the names of which I do not now recollect; on most of which we found grass scarce and in spots, until we came to Humboldt, which we followed for about 400 miles having to go some 100 miles further than the emigrants did last year, on account of high water. This stream will be remembered by the emigrants as long as they live. Its waters are strongly impregnated with alkali, and it is all the water that they have until reaching Carson river. When we went down it, it was very high and besides the main river, it spreads out into great many slough, covering a large part of the valley, or bottom land, and from the nature of the water and soil, (impregnated with alkali) it rendered the bottom so miry that we could not turn our horses on it, for what little grass they could find; after coming down it for about 75 miles, the only way we could get grass, was to swim the river, and cut, with our knives grass from among the willow brush, and swim over with it, or wade the sloughs and cut it in the same way, if we could find it to cut, which was not always the case, by any means, for with all the pain and labor we used we could not often find more grass for a dozen horses than one could eat. I did not swim the river myself, but waded the sloughs, as a great many were drowned in swimming the river, and as I was not a good swimmer, I preferred wading, which I had to do two or three times a day, through alkali water, from waist to shoulder deep, carrying grass, if I found any, on my shoulder, or under my arms, and then ride all day and sleep all night in my wet clothes; for the reason that with guarding the horses at night, to prevent the Indians from stealing them, cooking our meals when we stopped, and then spending two or three hours, evening, morning and noon, in cutting grass for the horses with our knives, we were so tired and broken down that we didn't care for any thing, so that we could get a few moments rest. It would not do to lay by and rest for a few days, for if we did, thousands of stock were passing every day, and destroying every thing before them; and we attribute all our good luck in getting here, to making an early start and keeping ahead of the emigration, and with care and attention to our horses.

The alkali nature of the country, besides our toil and labor, had such a tendency to make us sleepy, that we asked nothing better than to lay down in the sand, dust, in the hot sun and sleep, with the sweat rolling from us. Besides all these hardships, and a thousand more, our provisions began to run short, and it was necessary to push ahead on that account. We had not as much provisions, when we left Humboldt, as with quarter rations, would last us more than half way down that river, and were then about 700 miles from California; and nearly every body was in the same fix themselves. Scarcely any one had provisions enough; last year they took too much and this year too little. The fact is, every body was deceived in the distance, and the length of time it would take them to make the trip, and wishing to go as quick as possible, and take as little load as possible, they made the great blunder of not taking enough to eat, and if it had not been for the tough alkali meat of half-starved oxen, which was sold for from 30 to 50 cents per pound, and provisions brought out from California by traders and speculators, almost the entire emigration of 75,000 men must have perished. I frequently felt so sleepy and hungry in coming down the Humboldt, that I would have given a hundred dollars to have had as much cold milk, and hot corn bread and butter as I could eat, and then lay down under the shade of a tree half a day and rest and sleep.

Our horses were in good order until we reached the Humboldt, but nobody would have known them to be the same horses in two weeks time afterwards. We would pass every day from fifty to a hundred horses, mules, and oxen, mired in the boggy and spungy bottom of the Humboldt left to struggle for a few days in the mud, and then die. The whole country appeared so dreary and dismal, so forsaken and cursed of the Almighty, that it reminded me every day of the curse pronounced against Babylon, and I cannot now look back upon our hardships, and sufferings, on the Humboldt without shuddering, and returning thanks to that God who has safely brought me through so many dangers, toils and snares. The Indians were very troublesome on the Humboldt, shooting the men at night while on guard, stealing horses, &c., though we escaped their arrows, and had none of our horses stolen. We followed down the Humboldt until we came to its sink. It sinks in the edge of the desert, forming a lake some four or five miles over, covered with rushes and luxuriant growth of different kinds of vegetation. We were glad when we came to the sink of the Humboldt, for if any mortals were ever tired of a stream, we were of that, and we would have been glad to see it sink ten thousand times, if we could have been supplied with water of any better kind; but mean as the Humboldt is, we could never have got here without it. Off from its bottoms there is as much desert as in the great desert itself throughout its whole length; and there is not much difference between the desert and any of the country from 100 miles this side of the western boundary of Missouri and California, off from the water courses. Leave them any where and you are in a barren, sandy desert. We started into the desert, (that is, from the sink, although the country before that was as much a desert as any of the ballance [sic],) about 5 o'clock in the evening, (having previously prepared our grass at a place called the meadows, about 20 miles from the sink,) intending to go about half way over and feed and rest our horses, and get through early in the morning before the heat of the day; but in consequence of traveling so much at night we had lost a great deal of sleep, not having slept four hours in the last four days, and thinking we would lay down and take a little rest while the horses were eating, we fell asleep and never woke up until daybreak – in consequence we had to cross the worst and sandiest part of the desert in the heat of the day. We got through about one, our horses and ourselves having nearly given out. A mule having trod upon my canteen and mashed it so that I could not carry it more than half full of water, I was out of water nearly the whole of the way. There were some that hauled water out to the desert from Carson river and sold it at different prices from a dollar a quart to five dollars a swallow. A great many died on the desert from heat and thirst. One man offered another eighteen dollars if he would take a drink of water to a friend of his that was dying of thirst. From the sink of the Humboldt to Carson river, on the route we travelled, is about 40 miles; so that is the width of the desert where we crossed it. The Carson river sinks in one edge of the desert, and the Humboldt in the other. The last of the desert is exceedingly difficult to travel in, on account of the great depth and heat of the sand. When we crossed there was about 100 dead horses on it, and any quantity of wagons, gear, clothing and property of every description. I am informed by others who have lately come in, that it was now estimated that there were 4,000 horses and 2,000 wagons; another told me there were enough dead horses, to put them touching, to line the road from one side of the desert to the other, on one side, and enough wagons to line it on the other; and that the smell arising from the dead horses was so bad the road could not be travelled. We crossed another desert of 26 miles, on Carson river, and another of 18 miles. On the first was a piece of the prettiest road I ever saw, being as level and nearly as hard as a plank floor. On the latter part of the road up the Carson river, we had good grass. For the first 50 miles grass was scarce. Although 10,000 were ahead of us, there were but few deaths from sickness. The latter part of the emigration suffered from sickness. On leaving Carson river, we commenced ascending the Sierra Nevada. From that to the first mines is said to be 120 miles, over the roughest, rockiest, and steepest country that a wagon (I expect) ever crossed over. In some places the road runs for miles over snow banks. Any person viewing in imagination, from home the hills and rocks that wagons had to pass over in these mountains, would say that it was next to impossible to get a wagon over them. There is no grass through the whole of the Sierra Nevada, except a little that a sheep could live on; the only wonder to me is, how stock of any kind could make the trip, and greater still how horses could do it. We had better luck in getting our horses through than any one that I have heard of, as we did not lose one; I left one at the meadows to be recruited . . .

Nothing but Santa Fe mules, or heavy-set small American mules are fit for the trip, unless it be camels.

We started from Independence the 29th of April, and reached the first diggings the 29th of July, making the trip in 92 days. The road was measured and made 2100 miles from Council Bluffs, to Weovertown, the first mines, and fifty miles from there to the Sacramento; then if you count the distance you have to go off the route to hunt grass, you may set down the distance at fully 2,500 miles.

A. M. Williams, to his father
Missouri *Courier*, quoted by the St.
Joseph *Adventure*, Feb. 21, 1851

VI. APPRAISAL OF CALIFORNIA AFTER THE EMIGRATION OF 1850

God Help the Emigrants of 1850

Yankee Jim's Dry Diggings,
Aug. 2, 1850

There has been and is still a great deal of gold in this country, but don't think for a moment that a man can pick up his pile here, just for the wishing – for he can't . . . It depends on a man's luck, as much as his exertion. There are now thousands of men more here than will ever get paid for coming, and thousands still on the road.

I thought the country full to overflowing some time ago, but they still come. There are a thousand per day arriving by the overland route. They come into the country strapped, and have no place to strike a lick, for all the diggings are claimed that can be worked . . . In fact it will keep them moving to make a living from now until winter, and then I see no other help for them, but to give up the ghost and die, unless they find some friends that have a little to spare, and will share with them. God help them, I say. There are three times as many here as will ever be able to pay their passage home.

The people in the States listen too much to the reports of merchants and speculators. You must know that it is to their interest to keep fortunes. If a man, more by good luck than anything else, happens to blunder on a few thousand, he lets it get out in San Francisco, and the merchants get hold of it, and then they make capital of that man's luck, and the people in the States go crazy at once. But you must recollect that it is only one man out of a hundred that makes decent wages, and but one out of a thousand that gets paid for coming here. I speak of the mines.

There are, however, a good many men who make money here by stealing, gambling, trading, tavern-keeping, &c, but the miners have to pay all, and by the time they are done paying they have nothing left for themselves. In fact it will be mighty few that will make much hereafter.

The country is crowded, and all business is monopolized, except mining, and that is worse, or soon will be, for it will soon all be dug out, or so near it that it will take as hard work for a man to make a living here as in any state of the Union; and a dog's life it will be at that. My candid opinion of the matter is that all who have a home in the States, or any prospect of getting one, had better be satisfied and stay at it, and appreciate the good things of life.

About the middle of March I started out to the mountains, where I expected to find new diggings, that would prove extensive and rich, but after tramping for three months, I was convinced that the gold was not inexhaustible as I first thought. They may come and tell as many tales about the mines as they please, but wait and it will speak for itself in a short time. There may be a great deal of money dug here, but look at the thousands to dig it, and look at the expense a man is at to live. You must recollect that the mines are the only resource here; all must depend on them; for as to this country being good for anything else, it is all a mistake. Col. Fremont may say what he pleases, but I know something about agricultural pursuits, and I assure you that far short, in a general way, is this of being an agricultural country.

It is no use for me to write to you in regard to next year, for I believe that the country will all be turned topsy-turvy this fall – at least so that a man can't more than make a living, and that a dog's life. We are now at work, and don't make on an average, more than ten dollars per day, and have spent $500 travelling round to find such diggings. These are sentiments, opinions and judgment, if I have any of either of the three.

You may think this strange news to come from the El Dorado of the world; but, strange as it is, it is nevertheless true; just wait a short twelve months, and the doleful tale will be told. You will see more penniless men flocking home, bye-and-bye than you can shake a stick at; though thousands will never get home for the want of means, and some few will come home with fortunes, though more of them will get it by traffic, than any other way.

I have been in nearly all the mines, and I find everywhere crowded to the extreme; and still they come.

"D. J. L.," formerly of Baltimore, to a
friend in that city
Baltimore *Sun*, quoted in the St. Joseph
Adventure, Oct. 28, 1850

The Mines are a Humbug

Sacramento City, Oct. 26, 1850

I think my prospects at present are brighter than almost any body's that I am acquainted with, yet it is needless to say what I have made since I have been here. What to write you about the mines I don't know. All I have to say is, I pity the man who has to make his pile digging, for I do most solemnly assure you that the extravagant stories you hear so frequently in the States, are the most extravagant lies imaginable – the mines are a humbug.

Although I am making money here, yet I am one of the most unhappy beings on earth, and shall continue to be till I return to my family. I suppose you know that I always had a roving disposition; you may depend I am cured of it, when I get home again I shall remain there. I should like to know when people are going to stop coming. What on earth induces them at this late day to come to California, I don't know, for there is not room enough for the many, many thousands that are already here. The climate scarcely agrees with any body; almost every body gets sick very soon after they land, and a good many never get over it. All the business I ever intend to do here, I shall do between now and next June, for by that time I intend to start for home.

E. R. Pratt to his brother
Missouri *Statesman,* Feb. 2, 1850

Warning Against Emigrating

New Orleans, Nov. 27, 1850

We, the undersigned, passengers in the steamship Alabama, direct from California, in view of the many false and exaggerated statements in circulation as regards the productiveness of the mines, deem it necessary to give some facts . . . for the consideration of those who contemplate visiting that State for the purpose of mining . . . we are actuated by no motive save a desire to serve those who may be induced to leave comfortable homes for the desperate chance of making a fortune by gold digging.

We have viewed with regret that many false statements circulated in newspapers, based on information derived from the press in California, the conductors of which are engaged in the transportation business, on the Atlantic and the Pacific. The bankers, merchants, and traders . . . assist in no small degree, in misleading the public in regard to the flattering prospects of those engaged in mining. They have induced thousands to seek fortunes in California at great sacrifices, who never would have tried the experiment if they had been informed of the true condition and prospects of those engaged in working the mines.

We believe that thousands have been induced to emigrate to California during the past year, on account of the exaggerated report made by the Government agent, (Mr. King) and by the statements made by delegates in Congress, in relation to the gold bearing quartz. They state that quartz existed in unlimited extent and worth from one to three dollars per pound. These statements coming to the miners through the newspapers published abroad, struck them with profound astonishment. Now there is not one miner in five hundred, who has found in half his researches a pound of quartz rock worth fifty cents per pound; and the undersigned, who have been deeply interested in the matter have carried machinery to the mines at great expense, to work the quartz, know that none can be found there worth the present price for labor to work it.

It has been estimated that about one hundred thousand Americans were in California at the commencement of the present year. The emigration this year is put down at sixty thousand across the plains, ten thousand over land, through Texas and Mexico, and fifty thousand across the Isthmus . . . Supposing 20,000 have returned this year . . . 200,000 Americans remain in the country. If asked what is the condition and prospects of this large number of American citizens, we would say "most deplorable." The forty or fifty thousand who have been engaged in damming and turning rivers . . . thousands of them are reduced to want and involved in debt for subsistence, etc.

Those who were engaged in the dry diggings . . . have also been unsuccessful, during the past season.

It was the general opinion of the miners last mentioned that not more than eighty or ninety in a hundred had realized money enough to enable them to return to their families; and that not more than one in twenty has realized a dollar clear of expense during the season.

All hopes of making a fortune in California are lost sight of in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, and the almost universal feeling is to get home. And it is truly heart-rending to witness the general despondency which exists among the miners, and to see stout-hearted and brave men shed tears at their hopeless condition.

St. Joseph *Adventure*, Dec. 2, 1850
quoting the New Orleans *Delta*

The Mines are Nearly Exhausted

California, Nov. 10, 1850

On arriving at Sacramento City, I saw men from all parts of the country and from the various mines, and a general feeling of great disappointment and dissatisfaction was the result of the information received. Things were not such as had been represented at home, and a great many, who had money enough, returned home in the first boat. Instead of every body being able to make an ounce to $20 a day, who would work and be sober and industrious, it was found that not one in a hundred was doing it — and they not men who did the most work, but those who had the best luck; while the majority of miners were not making more than their board, which will amount to at least a dollar a day, live as rough as you may and do your own cooking, independent of your expenses for tools, traveling expenses, etc., and every thing you get in California costs. It was also found out that there were more miners on the rivers than could get places to dig — that every bar, from the sources of the rivers to their mouth was dug up or claimed by persons who had been watching their claims since it stopped raining last spring, waiting for the river to fall so that they could work them. The fact is, that nothing but the bright side of things here has been seen at home, and that much exagerated [sic], and but few wrote home except those who were doing well, while the great majority of the miners were not heard from. Merchants and speculators, who wish to draw a large number of emigrants, from home, would write letters and have them published in the newspapers, giving the good luck of some individuals, or the amount taken out in a day by a certain number of men – thereby conveying the idea that every one could do as well, who would be industrious and economical; but such is far from being the case. Many have written home that they were making fortunes, when they were scarcely paying expenses. I do not believe that the average amount to the hand, exclusive of expenses, taken from the mines, will exceed two fifty or three dollars per day; while a great many are not doing that well. I know miners who came out last season that are not now able to lay in their winter's supply of provisions; but I do not think there is any necessity for that. Mining, as well as all other business in California, I consider a perfect lottery. You may dig for weeks, not making much over your board, while some new hand that probably had not before struck a pick, may set down by you, in a place that you may have refused to dig in, and take out in a few days a thousand dollars or so; but the thousand dollar piles are about dug out. He who mines after this winter will, I think, do so with very gloomy prospects of making any thing. The rivers are dug over again and again, and the dry diggings will be pretty much gone over this winter.

Gold does not exist everywhere in the ground here, as you have been told, but is found only in the ravines, and streams of the mountains; in some of which you would have to dig from five to fifty feet to find it, while in others you will find it near the surface; but it is not every place in the ravines or streams that will yield gold – some will pay well, while others will not pay for digging, and you may sink a dozen holes in one apparently rich bar that will not more than pay expenses. So it is with the mines in California; I consider them nearly exhausted.

Gold will no doubt be found here for years, but not in quantities sufficient to make it an object to hunt for it. I have not been on the quartz rock region, which I had heard so much about before I left home, and cannot now say anything about it.

A. M. Williams, to his father
Missouri *Courier*, quoted by the
St. Joseph *Adventure*, Feb. 21, 1851

Don't Come to California

Rovoir & Ready, Yuba Co., California
Feb. 10, 1851

I need not tell you, that the golden stories of the California gold mines, have humbuged thousands. This you know from the hurried manner in which not only our own county citizens have left the country, but also thousands from all parts of the United States.

Upon our arrival in this country, we found existing a state of affairs, widely different from what we had imagined, and from what we had a right to expect from the numerous encouraging letters and accounts given of it before we left home. It may be said, with but few exceptions, that all the emigrants that landed here last summer and fall are sorely disappointed. Instead of realizing as they confidently expected when they left their homes and families, ten dollars, and an ounce a day in the mines, they have found it difficult with all the industry they could use, to make the fourth of it, and indeed, but few of them, have been fortunate enough to do this . . .

A miner's life is one of hardships, toil and exposure. There is no safe or easy way for him to obtain the precious metal, he must come right down to his work, regardless of mud and water, and all such small matters. No man should think of coming to California to make his thousands or his fortune in a short time. This idea is utterly foolish and if he does not think so, let him come and learn in the school that all fools have to learn in. The day for quick fortune-making is over in this country. The richest mines have all been discovered and worked out.

I hope no one will be so green as to be misled by the big gold stories that he may see going the rounds in the newspapers, especially if they are extracts from papers printed in this country; for I can assure him, and bring thousands of witnesses to prove what I say, that they are in ninety nine instances out of a hundred, false. There are thousands of men now in California who would gladly go home if they had the money . . .

"Boone Emigrant"
Missouri *Statesman*, Apr. 25, 1851

California, the Garden Spot of the World

California, Nov. 10, 1850

I like the climate of California, and think the soil well adapted to the raising of wheat, barley, oats, and nearly every kind of winter crops; and even corn will grow in the bottoms without watering. It is one of the finest countries for raising vegetables, and all kinds of tropical fruits in the world; and the valleys of the San Joaquin and San Puebla, produce the finest grapes and fruits of all kinds, except apples, that I have ever seen; oranges, figs, and almonds grow in great abundance. It is a very fine country for stock raising of every kind. Hogs keep as fat here as they would in a corn field, on grass, and inexhaustable quantities of acorns from live oaks and of other kinds of oaks. The trees look like they could hardly bear up under the weight while the ground beneath them is covered. The valleys of the San Joaquin, San Puebla, San Jose, &c., are said to be the most delightful country in the world, with a climate unsurpassed by that of Italy. And taking the climate of California, and a large proportion of its soil, I think it is the garden spot of the United States, if not of the world; and when the society becomes once settled, and its citizens turn their attention from mining to agriculture, (as they must do in a short time) and when law and government shall take place of riots and mobs, I think in no portion of the world, could man spend his time more pleasantly than here.

A. M. Williams, to his father,
Missouri *Courier*, quoted by the St.
Joseph *Adventure*, Feb. 21, 1851

VII. METHODS OF MINING GOLD, 1848-49

Methods of Mining Gold, 1848

Californy [sic], Dec. 18, 1848

In the sand the gold is generally sought for near the current, and in the current, and in the rocks we look for it in vain. There is one kind of deposit they call a pocket. The pocket is generally found in the natural breeches of the mountain, and can be dug into with a pick. The miners who work these deposits are known as the pic-pocket gangs. In the sand the preshus [sic] mettle is found in grains and gobs. Some say that the gobs is not the real stuff, and that nobody can tell what's what until the essayer has crucified it; others say that proosic [sic] acid will tell the story . . .

"A Disbanded Volunteer" to the "Sundy Times"
St. Joseph *Adventure*, Apr. 27, 1849

Methods of Working the Mines, 1849

Sutter's Mill, Aug. 20, 1849

The machines of the country are still the rude rocker, or common tin pans, which the miners purchase at the price of eight dollars a piece.

We have not commenced work yet. We have been engaged in "prospecting" and preparing our machine. Our machine is one of the best in the country; it was made at home by Mr. Wills, an experienced miner.

W. B. Royall
Missouri *Statesman*, Oct. 26, 1849.

Puffing and Blowing in the Mines

Dry Diggins City, Oct. 25, 1849

I am amused very much every day at the maiden efforts of the green 'uns who come across the Isthmus and around the Horn, at gold hunting. They puff and blow like young whales; their hands soon blister; they bespatter themselves with yellow mire; occasionally they slip up, and souse their seats of humor into a cold bath – at all of which they make all sorts of comical wry faces. Now, the overland chaps go at things philisophically [sic], and nobody knows but they are old miners. The little mud does not frighten them; their hands are as tough as boards, and mining is fun to them compared to wading whole days knee deep in sand, or up rocky steps, lines, or whip in hand, without "a drop of water to cool their parched tongues," or a spear of grass to feed their weary, half-famished cattle.

"Mifflin" to the St. Louis *Reveille*, quoted
by St. Joseph *Adventuré*, Feb. 8, 1850

"Dry" and "Wet" Mining

Dry Diggings, Oct. 18, 1849

This is called "Dry Diggings" because there is a scarcity of water in this ravine. Some springs are found, and by daming [sic] up the water an opportunity is afforded at different places for the washing process to go on; but not with the same facility as the "Wet Diggings," or where there is a constant running creek or river. In this vicinity, however, there must be between four and five thousand persons engaged in digging, trading in provisions, goods, etc. The gold is mostly found at the bottom of the ravine, on the rock, and in the crevices as though it had been brought down the steep hill sides by heavy rains and deposited promiscuously along the beds of all the ravines. Therefore the finding of gold – a subject of the first importance here and elsewhere! – is not alike to all. One man may find a fortune within a few feet of another who finds very little. Yet there is no discouragment. There are other places, and plenty of them, for the unfortunate to continue his efforts. His time will certainly come if he will persevere.

In many places the business of mining is rather heavy. The rock has to be thrown out of the holes sunk from the depth of one to ten feet; the dirt thrown up with a spade, and where the water is not at hand, the dirt has to be carried in a sack on the miner's shoulder the distance, frequently, of a fourth of a mile to water. This is only the case, however, in the Dry Diggings – the washing on the rivers is different. There the bars only are looked into. Water being plenty the washing is easier, though a great deal must be washed and frequently for very little gold. Yet [this] is said to be more certain business than digging in the ravines, as there is more or less gold mixed in the sand on all the bars of the rivers.

Simeon Switzler, to his son
Missouri *Statesman*, Jan. 25, 1850

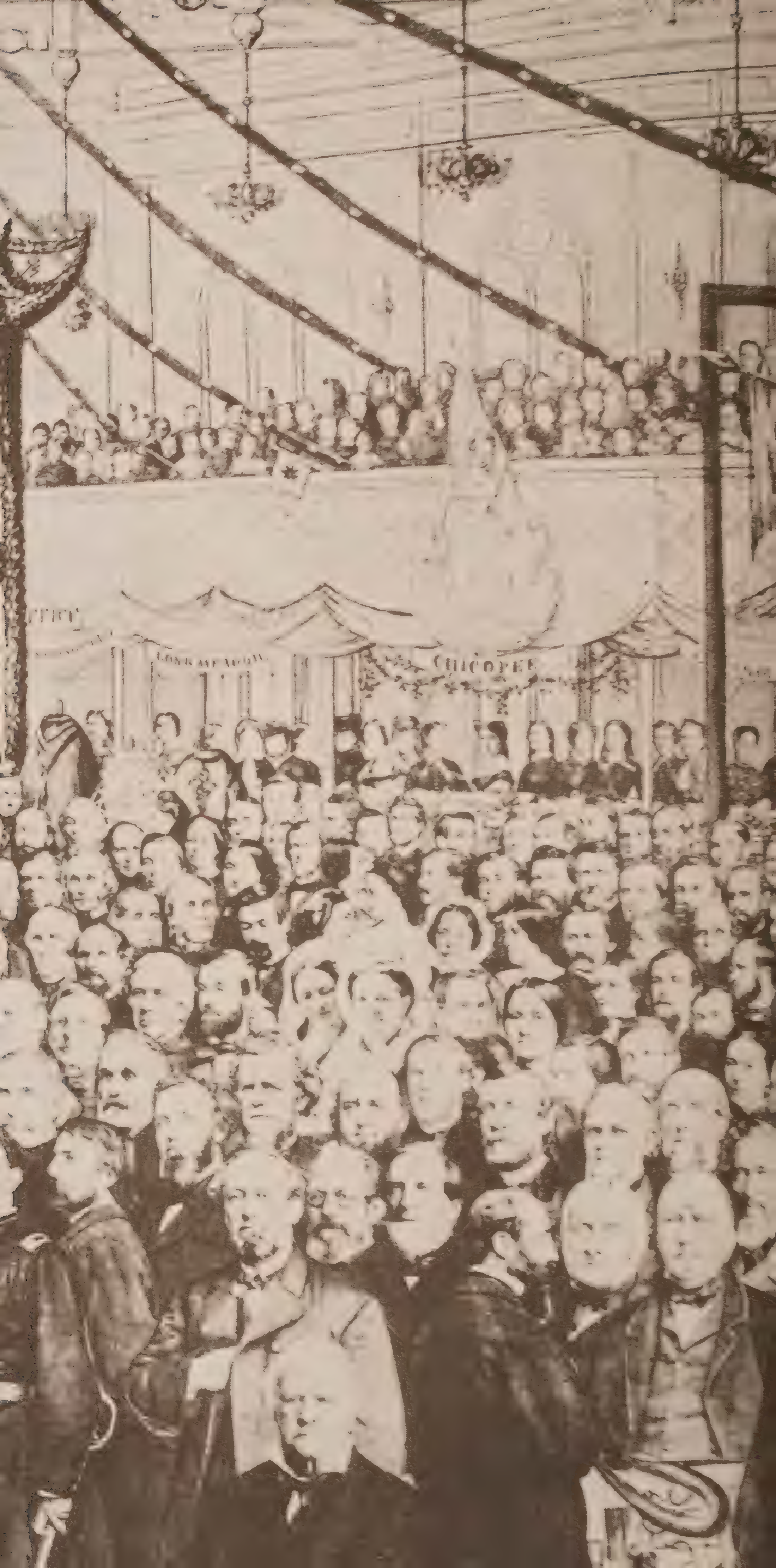
How To Dig Gold!

Diamond Springs, Feb. 1, 1851

In order to give you some idea of mining in this beautiful country you must imagine yourself a miner. Well, tie your blankets, knapsack fashion on your back; that accomplished, get your cradle next, not any of our modern cots (I think they call them) but the old fashioned cradles that you and I were rocked in; put that on top of your blankets; next a pick and shovel and pan, coffee pot, some provisions in the shape of flint bread and (the cause of scurvy) pork; straighten yourself, take your rifle in hand and off you go rejoicing! This is what we call "prospecting," you travel over some of the worst mountains I ever saw, so stupendous are they that it is the labor of extreme toil to ascend them. I must remark here that all the mines are in the mountains, on the water courses, ravines and gulches. You come to a ravine, take off your rigging, dig a hole from four to eight feet square and from three to six feet deep, you come to the bed rock where the gold is usually deposited, you find that your labor was all in vain. – You dig another hole and another, and find some gold, wash out some dirt as we call it; you find when you wash out about one hundred buckets full, perhaps five dollars; more commonly three; that will not pay; curse the gulch and your own hard fate, then your reflections are soothing in the extreme. You next gather some grass if you want to indulge a little in luxury, and make your bed; make a fire, eat your flint bread and pork, a little coffee without sugar, smoke your pipe and go to your blankets, where you will sleep sound. I can assure you gold digging makes a man sleep well. You awake in the morning, your head white, not with the frosts of many winters, but with the frost of a single night; jump up from your couch, shake yourself and you are dressed . . . Now you are determined to try the river, and attach yourself to some mere roving vagabonds you meet with, we call them the forlorn hope. Hope in this country loses all those beautiful charms upon which the mind so often and so fondly dwells. I digress: Well, you determine to turn the river, the company go to work, dig a race, which is the work of many days for many hands. Next make your dam to turn the water from the bed of the river, and when it is properly drained you go to work to dig the bed of the stream, buoyed with hopes. You pick, shovel and wash and get nothing. So it was on the bed of the Yuba, to my own knowledge, about the same time this fellow in Sacramento wrote this falsehood. I can assure you, sir, that twenty-one races were dug on this river, (Yuba) by different companies who had some capital, and nineteen of them paid nothing, the other two did not pay expenses . . .

James Heren
Missouri *Statesman*, May 16, 1851

(To be concluded)


LONGMEADOW
CHICOPEE

Women in War-Time, San Francisco, 1864

The Ladies' Christian Commission Fair

By Dorothy H. Huggins

IN the rooms of the California Historical Society, half-way up the stairway leading to the second floor, hangs a picture, unmarked except for the name of the donor – Mrs. Silas H. Palmer. When Mrs. Palmer made the gift to the Society, a few years ago, even she did not know what it was intended to represent; and it was not until the writer was preparing some footnotes for "Some Letters of William S. Jewett, California Artist," edited by Elliot Evans, for the September 1944 issue of this Quarterly that the scene was identified. The picture portrays a gathering of people, apparently a fair or bazaar, which, judging from the costumes and other *prima facie* evidence, took place during the Civil War period. But there is nothing to indicate in what hall or for what purpose the group assembled.

The heads of the people evidently are genuine photographs, the figures and background were drawn with a brush, and the whole then photographed in sepia tones. The result, a group picture of about 16 by 20 inches in size, is reproduced here. Jewett, himself, may have sketched the figures and the background, for he took an active part in the arrangements for the fair and mentions it in his letters. His portrait may be found near the center of the group. And perhaps some of our readers, with keen eyes or a magnifying glass, will discover their parents or grandparents, or even great grandparents if the family album is still extant, among the "fashion and beauty" depicted here.

The Nation was in the midst of war, in the fall of 1864. No swing bands and glamorous moving picture actresses stimulated the sale of Victory bonds at huge rallies. No nylon hose and electric refrigerators were awarded as prizes to bond purchasers. But a mammoth cheese, exhibited at the Mechanics' Industrial Fair in San Francisco and sold at $1.00 a pound, brought in $2,820 for the United States Sanitary Commission, forerunner of the American Red Cross; and in Nevada, a sack of flour, auctioned and reauctioned, is said to have raised for the Commission $275,000.

There were no women welders, nor burners, nor riveters; no WACS, no WAVES, no lady Marines, no Red Cross Motor Corps of women drivers, no Blood Donor Center, no Stage Door Canteen, and no U. S. O. Hospitality House, in Civil War days. Women in uniform were not to be seen. And as for slacks or dungarees – even Mrs. Bloomer would have been shocked at the sight of female limbs clad in garments so revealing. But hearts no less patriotic than those of today beat beneath the ruffled bosoms of eighty-one years ago; and many-petticoated ladies in floor-length dresses, at home and in church gatherings, thought up innumerable ways to contribute to the comfort and welfare of the sick and wounded. They put finishing touches to their water-color paintings, hand-embroidered pincushions, silk patchwork quilts, and crocheted antimacassars, and planned fairs and bazaars at which to sell them for the benefit of the current cause.

In August 1864 the women of the churches of the San Francisco Bay region centered their efforts on a "Grand Fair of the Ladies' Christian Commission, for the Benefit of Our Sick and Wounded Soldiers and Sailors."

Beginning on August 16 and running through the first week in September, an advertisement in the San Francisco newspapers announced that the Fair would be held in Union Hall, commencing August 24, and that the ladies respectfully solicited "donations of money and all kinds of saleable articles, from all who sympathize with our suffering heroes." The California Steam Navigation Company and the San Francisco and San Jose Railroad Company would carry all packages intended for the Christian Commission free of charge, and the railroad would give "a reduction on its regular prices to those who visit the city to attend the Fair."

> Stores may be sent to Ludlum & Clark, New Orleans Warehouse, corner of California and Davis streets. Money, to the Treasurer, Mrs. Gladwin, 335 Jessie street, or to Mrs. S. M. Bowman, Pres't, Occidental Hotel.
>
> The resources and appliances which the Ladies have in hand, will enable them to make their Fair the most attractive ever held on this coast.

In the San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, on August 19, a "card" signed by Mesdames S. M. Bowman, A. J. Donner, Charles Keeny, S. H. Harmon, A. A. Ritchie, S. B. Stoddard, and E. Thomas, denied emphatically that "through any action of the Ladies' Christian Commission any have been excluded from participating" and appealed to "all persons without distinction of name and creed . . . to unite with them in making the Fair a grand and glorious success." And on the 22nd the *Bulletin* announced that:

> This benevolent enterprise . . . will open on Wednesday next, at Union Hall, on Howard street. The proprietors of the Hall have given it to the ladies free of charge . . . The internal arrangements and decorations are now being completed under the direction of S. C. Bugbee & Son, Architects, who volunteer their services. Col. Drumm [Lieutenant Colonel Richard C. Drum, Assistant Adjutant General and Chief of Staff] has kindly furnished 100 American flags to be used for decorative purposes . . .

On its first page the *Daily Alta California* that same morning had reported that:

> . . . extensive preparations [are] being made by the managers, assisted by the volunteer efforts of upwards of three hundred ladies of this city . . . The Hall will be most tastefully decorated with floral wreaths, garlands and National emblems, and a number of the finest paintings and works of art from the private galleries and collections of our wealthy citizens, have been kindly loaned . . . Very many elegant and curious creations from the fair hands that have been employed for weeks past in this labor of love and patriotism, will be on exhibition, and for sale, and very many of the beautiful creators,

themselves, will be in attendance for the purpose of making the necessary negotiations relative to the rates of exchange between nick-nacks and gold and greenbacks. The musical portion of the programme has been placed entirely under the direction of Prof. Gustave Scott, who has entered upon the arduous duty with his characteristic spirit and enthusiasm ... A series of concerts and *tableaux vivants* have been arranged to be given on alternate evenings ... The following artistes, comprising the best musical talent in the city, have already volunteered their services: Signor and Signora Bianchi, Miss Jennie Kempton, Mesdames Marriner, Shattuck, Louisa Grotjan, Taylor, Wiley, Misses Tourney, Freeman, Cameron, Doyle, Maury, Van Vleck, and Messrs. Seguin, Elliott, Russell, Campbell, Crowley, Wunderlich, Pique, Smith, Anderson and Swift. The following bands have volunteered: The Presidio, or Ninth U. S. Infantry, Union, Chris Andres', Chas. Alper's, and Fuller & Sanders'. Mr. Frank Lawlor has also volunteered his services and will deliver the popular recitation of "Shamus O'Brien." ...

On the day of the opening, August 24, the *Bulletin* gave considerable space to a description of the hall:

... The Hall is a fine one for the purpose. It is 91 feet 4 inches wide by 117 feet long, clear of the rostrum; and its length, including the rostrum and front rooms, is 153 feet. The ceiling is 31 feet high. At the front end, over the entrances, is a commodious gallery. This gallery, the wall in rear of it, and the windows and doorways, are tastefully draped with the stars and stripes. The rostrum has been converted into a stage, for the oratorical, musical and dramatic exercises. In the centre of the hall stands a beautiful floral temple about 25 feet high, fashioned like a temple of liberty, made of evergreens, trimmed with flowers, surmounted by a gilt eagle, and tended by rosy cheeks and bright eyes.

On each side of the hall and at the ends are built light and graceful alcoves, consisting of arches draped with "old glory," surmounted in front and centre with crosses, eagles, shields, arms, mottoes, etc. No. 1 of these alcoves, which are all intended for the sale of the articles contributed for that purpose, is to be occupied by the ladies from Oakland. No. 2, by Miss Baker and her school, of this city. No. 3, which is the centre alcove on the left side, will be occupied by members of Dr. [Charles] Wadsworth's and Dr. [William C.] Anderson's Churches (Presbyterian); No. 4 is erected by the Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians from Santa Clara; No. 5, by the United Methodists of San Francisco; No. 6, by the Congregationalists; No. 7 (which is the centre alcove on the right side), by the Episcopalians; No. 8, by the members of the Rev. Mr. [Abbott E.] Kittredge's congregation [Howard Street Presbyterian]; No. 9 and 10, by the Baptists.... There are various other alcoves in the corners and at the ends of the hall. In one, "the old woman's shoe" ... In another there will be a soda fountain ... Other alcoves will contain gentlemen's furnishing goods, and sewing machines from the rival firms of Grover & Baker and Wheeler & Wilson.

A grand piano will stand under the centre of the rostrum. At the right hand corner, on entering, "Jacob's Well" is to be kept filled with lemonade, and tended by Rebecca in the costume of her people. In the opposite corner is a grotto made of sheeting, painted in chilling imitation of stone, wherein some rosy anchorite intends to retail ice cream.... The Hall will be illuminated by 8 gas chandeliers of 21 globe lights each, and one grand centre chandelier of 48 globe lights, suspended from the ceiling, and by 12 side chandeliers of two globe lights each. The 12 panels in the walls will each contain a mirror 5 by 8 feet in dimensions.... The front rooms are fitted up as an art gallery. ... Above these rooms is an apartment over 90 feet long and perhaps 20 wide, which is to be used as a refreshment room, where the lady managers of the different alcoves will spread tables with all the most appetizing eatables and drinkables ...

The next evening the *Bulletin* again polished up its best adjectives:

> The Ladies' Christian Commission Fair was formally opened last evening ... one of the brightest and pleasantest scenes ever witnessed in San Francisco. The gaily beflagged alcoves [were] decked out with all sorts of women's handiwork, with vases of flowers ... with pictures in oil ... with a thousand curious and useful articles, offered for sale in the holiest of causes by tender-hearted women who looked proud and glad in their novel vocation, chosen for the nonce in behalf of the suffering Union soldier and the cause which was typified by the cross uplifted above them and mingled with the starry banner of the Republic.... The evening was warm, but the exercises were short, and the crowd was not wearied by long keeping still at the sound of words which the most of them could not plainly hear. The Presidio Band struck up a series of martial airs by way of overture. Mayor [Henry P.] Coon ... made a short address in explanation of the object of the Christian Commission and of the Fair.... William H. L. Barnes followed the Mayor.... He advised the ladies to charge the highest prices and give back no change. Our men are not drafted for the war, but let their purses be conscripted forever.... The chairmen announced that the Fair was now opened ... and while the "Euterpeans" sang a song the audience began to move round the Hall.... A floral temple, with its sweet wealth of roses and its heaped baskets of fruit, attended by half a dozen or more of irresistible clerks in crinoline, was the centre of attraction. "Jacob's Well" was surrounded by a crowd of thirsty wayfarers, who kept white-robed Rebecca busy dipping her pitcher and filling the outheld cups. The grotto, with its aquarium, its stalactites and its big shells ... did not realize its promise of ice-cream, but the soda fountain did a brisk business....
>
> The most satisfactory sights to many were in the art gallery and museum. The former contains 40 or 50 oil paintings, and drawings of various sorts.... There are several copies of old pictures, Madonnas, Magdalenes, dead Christs, etc., ... Butman contributes several fine California landscapes, the best being a view of Mount Shasta. ... A cabinet in an adjoining room contains a vigorous original drawing by Reubens. ... A glass case at the end of this apartment is filled with relics of the war – rebel buttons, belts and buckles, bullets, fragments of shell, ... gathered from the wreck of every battlefield from the first Bull Run to Missionary Ridge. On the wall are hung a variety of ... objects – an autograph letter of George Washington; ... a shot-pouch that once belonged to Kit Carson.... The skin of the dog Lazarus is there, stuffed by the taxidermist's skill to such a life-like look that it would drive Bummer and Montgomery street wild with joy....
>
> The number of visitors was probably not less than 3,000. The receipts of the evening were $1,111.05, about $600 being taken at the door.... The exercises this evening will consist of music and tableaux. The names of the tableaux are as follows: 1. Spirit of '76; 2. Pin Money and Needle Money; 3. Statuary – Faith, Hope and Charity; 4. Queen of Sheba at the Court of Solomon; 5. Inconvenience of Single Life; 6. Statuary – Dante and Beatrice. Day visitors may be interested to know that luncheon is spread from 12 to 2 o'clock. Tickets 50 cents each.

On the 26th the *Bulletin* reported "a larger throng of visitation" on the preceding evening than on the opening night:

> ... A fine band was stationed in the gallery (which is decorated with great taste, presenting a pleasant relief to the moving throng below) ... The gas was partly shut off several times for the tableaux, causing a succession of rushes from the side rooms. ... Some of these tableaux as "The Spirit of '76" and "Faith, Hope and Charity," the latter a representation of statuary – were very good. The last one, "Queen of Sheba

before Solomon," didn't "get sot," as the Yankees say, and the costume was scarcely more ancient than the time of Richard III. The curtains did not come together at the sound of the bell, and a great laugh was raised by the figures skedaddling in full view of the audience.... No raffling is permitted, ... but gift subscriptions are quite numerous.... A large silk quilt, representing the flags of all nations ... is to be presented to President Lincoln. An embroidered quilt, with military emblems, is to be presented to Butler, Grant or Hooker – "whichever has the largest vote...." A handsome cabinet-cased sewing machine is to be presented to Mrs. Starr King.

Among the innumerable gifts to the Fair are some of great interest and value. W. B. Glaser contributes a dead pigeon, carved from a solid piece of maple ... P[eter] Toft gives a sepia drawing of a natural bridge on the coast near Santa Cruz....

The "grab bag," the "royal wedding" show, and the "skating pond" draw a good many quarters out of willing pockets. The skating pond is really a very ingenious and beautiful piece of mechanism and art. It consists of a polished marble tablet, on which a number of small figures are represented in every attitude of skating. A crank keeps them in motion, and an ingenious and deceptive arrangement of mirrors multiplies them indefinitely....

Mr. Cummings exhibits ... a bunch of 50 pears, growing on a stem only 8 inches long and weighing 19 pounds, which was picked in Briggs's orchard near Marysville.... F. P. Medina brings down from San Andreas a droll little automaton man, who holds out his hand for a quarter, and nods his thanks when he gets it. This was exhibited at the San Andreas Fourth of July Sanitary Fair....

... E. W. Perry, an artist of this city, gives a small oil painting of Mount Diablo at sunset.... V. M. Williams, also of this city, gives an oil sketch of Oak Knoll, in Napa Valley, the beautiful home of the lamented Osborne. T[homas] Hill, another San Francisco artist, offers a cool Sierra Nevada lake scene, with Indians in the foreground and a snowpeak in the distance.... Butman donates his careful study of "Chaparral in the Coast Range" ...

Among the new pictures loaned for the exhibition are two small Yosemite sketches in oil, by the masterly hand of [Albert] Bierstadt.... A rich golden moonlight scene, in oil, by Jacobson attracts much admiration. Jewett, who painted the fine portrait of Gen. Sutter which hangs in the State Capitol, contributes two large views of Yosemite waterfalls....

The *Alta California*, on the 27th, was most enthusiastic:

The Fair at Union Hall is crowded every evening by the youth and style of San Francisco, or at least by that portion belonging to the Evangelical Churches. Though very few Catholics, Unitarians, or Jews, are to be seen, still there is a brilliant assemblage of toilets and pretty faces; and indeed nowhere in the city at present can an evening be spent more agreeably, or can a better view be obtained of the fashionable people of the city. It would be invidious to say which alcove, and which church, has the most beautiful faces among its saleswomen; such comparisons are odious, unless made to a single confidante. The chief attraction belonging to the Fair is the fair sex. ... There is a magnificent silk quilt, made in patchwork to resemble the flags of all nations. There is another silk quilt, made of six dozen patches, each about ten inches square, each braided with an elegant or unique cushion pattern. This quilt, marked by Mrs. Hendricks, and embroidered by the ladies of the Second Baptist Church, is considered a work of art in its way. It is to be presented to the General who receives the greatest number of votes, and every person can vote who pays a dollar.... A patent glass ballot box receives the votes ... The picture gallery contains some very good pictures, and among them Williams' "Roman Pilgrims" and Perry's "Inquisitive Cham-

> bermaid" attract attention immediately. The bronzes, brought from Japan by Mr. Blake, are well worth seeing. There are other wonderful things innumerable....

The fair closed on the evening of September 8. The programme was printed in the advertising columns of both the *Alta California* and the *Bulletin*, and the news columns of the latter announced:

> ...There will be an auction sale of the following paintings and engravings, which were donated for the benefit of the Christian Commission: Oak Knoll, by Virgil M. Williams; Mount Diablo, by E. Wood Perry, Jr.; Lake Tahoe, by T. Hill; Landscape, by a lady; A Run for Life, by W. S. Jewett; Scene on Walker's River, by G. I. Denny; Scene from Newport, by Mrs. W. G. Badger; Chaparral in the Coast Range, by F. A. Butman; ...a Moss Picture.
>
> Besides these there will be sold several aquaria, a set of Russian sables, and many articles of less value. After the auction, the Fair will wind up with a grand promenade concert....

The *Bulletin*, on September 9, reported that there had been a "big turnout" on the final evening, and that "the attendance was never larger" – a feather in the bonnet for the ladies, for the *Alta* stated that the "attendance at the Mechanics' Institute Industrial Fair yesterday, was greater than on any previous day since the opening" (September 3); and two political mass meetings – a "Copperhead" gathering in Portsmouth Square and one sponsored by the Union League in Platt's Hall – had likewise drawn large crowds. The opera, theatres, and concerts also were "in full blast."

"The swells of music and the other swells," punned the *Bulletin*, "subsided about 9 o'clock, and Mr. Badger began the auction sale." Among the many "items of interest" offered, a "wreath of moss collected from the battlefield of Gettysburg," framed by Miss Barnes, was sold to Mr. Pillsbury for $45. An engraving of a "Hunting Scene," contributed by Mrs. Edward Bosqui, brought $10. And a "Splendid Fruit Cake," that had already raised $322 at San Jose for the Sanitary Commission, was sold to William Sherman for $10, resold to Mrs. Pixley for $5.00, and sold again for $2.00. From neither newspaper are we able to learn which general was to be surprised with the gift of the silk patchwork quilt. At the close of the sale, the Reverend G. J. Mingins (of the First Presbyterian Church) "made some appropriate remarks."

The total receipts of the Fair, according to the *Bulletin*, were "between $23,000 and $24,000; and the net receipts will probably be over $20,000 in coin. . . . Some of the fixtures and decorations will be taken to Sacramento, where the ladies are about to start another Fair on behalf of the Christian Commission."

"On the whole," the paper added, "the ladies who originated and carried out the late Fair have reason to be proud of the result and can remember it with unalloyed satisfaction for the rest of their days."

COLUMBIA — "Gem of the Southern Mines"

By Elizabeth Gray Potter

IN THE 'fifties the Mother Lode of California was dotted with vigorous, noisy mining towns, but one by one these have fallen into decay. The people have moved away, the buildings have disintegrated, and only the gaunt skeletons of once thriving towns remain. But not so with Columbia. Age has added mellowness and beauty. The ugly scars made by placer mining on the surrounding hills are still visible but softened by a veil of green. The trees, lining the principal street, spread wide their protecting branches, and along its edge stand stone and brick buildings, sturdy and strong. To be sure, the town's population has decreased from fifteen thousand to a few hundred but Columbia has never become what could be called a "ghost town" because there have always been people living and working there.

Legend holds that Columbia, in its heyday, missed being the capital of California by two votes, but Mildred Brooke Hoover in her *Historic Spots in California* states that a search through the legislative records has brought forth no evidence of this as a fact. However, the story persists among the inhabitants and in order to fulfill this long cherished ambition on July 15, 1945, Columbia was made the capital of California, just for a day. At that time Governor Warren moved his office to the town and in the presence of residents, guests, and officials signed the bill that made Columbia a part of the State Park System.

It was a gala day for the little town. From all parts of California came the children and grandchildren of the early inhabitants of Columbia. The pages of time were turned back and the town was made to appear as it was in gold rush days. The residents greeted their guests in old-time costumes, not fashioned for the occasion, but pulled from ancient trunks and chests. These garments were those that their ancestors wore when they trod the wooden sidewalks and attended the little church on the hill, almost a century ago. Moreover the country side was scoured for old time vehicles. No automobiles were allowed but guests and residents rode in buggies, surreys, and phaetons. Red-shirted miners led jackasses, each with a prospector's outfit on its back, and even stage coaches and covered wagons were to be seen. Wandering about the town were Indians, Mexicans, cowboys, and bearded miners, their red shirts lending a splash of color and their high boots and big *sombreros* adding to the picturesqueness of the scene. The governor's mansion was an old house with a picket fence owned by Dr. James E. McConnell and occupied continuously since early days.

Among the speakers at the dedication ceremonies were Joseph R. Knowland, Chairman of the State Park Commission, William Cavalier, President of the California Historical Society, and the well known actor, Leo Carrillo, whose family was one of the Spanish founders of California. Governor Warren spoke and signed the bill which officially designated Columbia as a part of the State Park System.

As one steps into the main street of the town, which follows what was once Matelot Gulch, one seems to be back in the early 'fifties. The narrow street is arched with trees and lined with hitching posts; along the wooden sidewalk irregular brick and stone buildings excite the imagination and suggest that once thrilling adventures lurked behind the solid iron shutters and heavy doors. Balconies with fancy wrought iron railings and sidewalk canopies give grace and charm to the old town.

Practically nothing has been changed since the days when the miners' gold dust was weighed on the old Wells Fargo scales. $87,000,000 is said to have been mined within two miles radius of the post office. Although gold has ceased to flow through the town, the place has never been completely deserted and the square brick school house on the hill, built in 1862, is still in use. Here one can see the old bean board once used in learning the multiplication table.

On another prominence the bells of St. Anne's Church, built in 1856, still call the residents to worship and the fine altar paintings, by James Fallon, son of the proprietor of the old Fallon Hotel, entice even the stranger to enter. The grave stones of the little cemetery, perilously near to the sheer cliff washed out by the great gold dredgers, tell a pitiful story of the youth of those who lie buried here, for the average age does not exceed twenty-two years.

Facing the main street is the fine old red brick Wells Fargo Building, which has been turned into a museum and recently given to the State. Here may be seen the scales on which $55,000,000 in gold was weighed. On exhibition also are interesting old account books and relics of early days. Other buildings also attract the vistors' attention, such as the "Stage Drivers' Retreat" (now the Golden Nugget Club) which still contains the old bar and a piano brought around the Horn, and the Knapp Grocery Store saved from fire in 1857 by two barrels of vinegar. But of even greater interest is the fire-house with two old engines and a hose of riveted buffalo hide. The hand-worked engines bear the names of Papeete and Monumental. The latter was owned by the San Francisco Fire Department but proved too heavy for the hills and was purchased by Columbia. It takes forty men to operate it.

Papeete was built in Boston for King Kamehameha of the Sandwich Islands (now Hawaii) and brought around the Horn. But when it arrived in San Francisco no boat was immediately found to take it farther on its journey. It was housed temporarily in one of the San Francisco engine houses and the men became so fond of it that they were loath to give it up.

They used it on the pretense of keeping it in good condition but made no further effort to send it on its way. After a time King Kamehameha became suspicious and began to send indignant letters to the United States Government. Something had to be done, so when Columbia suggested that it take Papeete off the hands of the San Francisco Fire Department the offer was promptly accepted. Both engines are run by man power and are still in use.

Near the town is an arena where bear and bull fights were a popular amusement in the 'fifties and which led Horace Greeley, in an article in the New York Tribune, to coin the terminology still used in Wall Street.

A marble quarry two miles from Columbia is the largest in the state and has been worked continuously since 1857. It was from here that marble was brought to San Francisco in 1878, to pave the sidewalks around the Palace Hotel. The owner of this quarry has always been deeply interested in Columbia and done much to preserve its old time picturesqueness.

Gold was discovered in the vicinity of Columbia by some Mexican in 1850. A few days later Thaddeus Hildreth, his brother George, and three companions spent the night here and as it rained they were obliged to remain the following morning to dry their blankets. On March 28, 1850, one of the members of the party, John Walker, went prospecting and found "color." The party decided to remain and soon were taking out fifteen pounds of gold a day. The news spread. Miners rushed in from the surrounding country and by mid-April 6,000 persons were on the spot. More and more gold was taken from the soil; the supply seemed inexhaustible, and so vast was the sum that the town became known as the "gem of the Southern Mines." The place was at first named Hildreth Diggings, but later was changed to Columbia by a group of men from Missouri who remembered with affection their home town in that state.

In 1852 the town was laid out and in 1854 it was incorporated, but was shortly destroyed by fire. It was doubtless this disaster that saved it for posterity, since the new buildings were constructed of substantial and almost fire-proof material.

In 1854 Columbia's first newspaper was published, called the Columbia *Star*. It appeared on brown wrapping paper, 9 x 13 inches, but soon went into the hands of the sheriff, as the miners had little time for reading.

In the early 'fifties three companies were supplying water to Columbia, the Stanislaus Water Company, the Tuolumne Water Company, and the New England Water Company, so there was sufficient water not only for the placer mining but also for gardens. The miners brought their families to the place and soon the little town became beautiful with flowers, shrubs, and trees. The great yield of the mines lasted scarcely more than a decade, but the people never deserted the town. In 1863 Wm. H. Brewer, the naturalist, wrote in his journal: "I stayed all day at the quiet little place of Columbia, a very pretty mining town, entirely unlike anything in the East.

It grew up at a rich placer region. Ditches sixty miles long bring water to wash the gold and irrigate the gardens. The gold has been mostly washed out, many miners have left, so many houses are empty of inhabitants. Many of the houses are embowered with climbing roses, now in full bloom, and the place is lovely. The underlying rock is limestone, which is worn very rough – knobs, poles, pinnacles, thirty feet high – once all filled with soil, making a level flat. Here were rich placers, and much of the soil has been removed, leaving these rugged rocks bare. The effect is very peculiar."

The making of Columbia into a state park is the result of the efforts of fifty-two organizations. The bill was sponsored by Senator Jesse Mayo of Angels Camp and Assemblyman Allen G. Thurman of Colfax. Among those most actively engaged on the project are Joseph R. Knowland, Chairman of the State Park Commission and Chairman of the Landmarks Committee of the Native Sons of the Golden West, William Cavalier, President of the California Historical Society and Finance Chairman in charge of raising $50,000 through public subscription to match the funds appropriated by the Legislature, Dr. James E. McConnell, Chairman of the Columbia State Park, and others who represent such organizations as the Native Sons and Native Daughters of the Golden West, State Department of Natural Resources, and the State Chamber of Commerce.

Every effort will be made by the State Park System to preserve the buildings now standing and through a complete file of pictures of early days it is hoped that destroyed structures will be replaced so that Columbia will eventually be an exact replica of the early mining town of Bonanza Days.

Sherman Was There

The Recollections of Major Edwin A. Sherman

(Concluded)

MY FIELD work of hurrying up the filing of pre-emption claims and surveying was drawing to a close, so I began to look for a new line of more profitable business. In August of 1859, I received from a friend a letter of introduction to a Mr. John S. Harbison, who lived near the Sacramento River about four miles below Sacramento City, and who, I was informed, wanted some capable person to write his book on "Bee Culture." I went to see him and, after getting several points from the buzzers around, I made an agreement with him and entered upon the work.

I had read Aristotle's [118] description of the bee and its products, and upon examining Huber, Quinby, and Langstroth's books on the culture of the bee, and Harbison's own inventions, I came to the reasonable conclusion that John S. Harbison was the king bee raiser of them all. He had started from western Pennsylvania in the winter of 1856 with several hives of bees, and had traveled *via* the Isthmus of Panama to California. Though he had suffered great loss, he was successful in establishing his apiary at this site on the east side of the Sacramento River, and by his inventions had rapidly multiplied his hives of bees to five times the number with which he arrived. Some parties had also imported bees by the same route and with great loss. I will state here, that there were no honey bees in California or the Pacific Coast until they were imported from the eastern states, as above described; and if history is correct, there were no native honey bees in America [119] until the mother swarms were imported from Europe.

To write Harbison's book correctly and intelligently, I had to learn from him by instruction and practical experience the whole business of bee raising from start to finish. He had invented an altogether new way of forced artificial swarming, in which he was very successful. It was by cutting out a piece of the workers' comb of horizontal cells containing eggs, placing them vertically in the slot made, and then cutting out a space below to leave room for the elongation of the queen cells, which would be made by the workers. When nearly ready to hatch out, Harbison would cut off a queen cell and insert it in a sheet of comb taken from the same hive, and, with a part of the bees, form a new hive, which would be carried at night to a distance, the new queen would be hatched out and would become the head of another colony, sometimes three or four being created from one hive. For this he justly received a patent and deserved great credit.

I was thus employed during four months of constant practice by day and writing at night, and became not only theoretically but practically efficient in bee culture. Hives of bees were worth and were selling at one hundred dollars a hive; but for every hive he sold he was raising up a competitor,[120] which in time would inevitably bring the price down very low. Seeing this in advance, he made a proposition to me which I accepted. This was that he would furnish me twenty-four hives of bees, and I was to go to any part of California I might select. He would pay the cost of transportation, advance me five hundred dollars in cash toward expenses, and give me half of the increase. Each was to pay for his own hives. I selected Los Angeles as my location, as the farthest away from competition, but first I went down there and rented a new house and a large lot on Los Angeles Street, through which the *zanja* or water ditch ran and where there was plenty of grass, in what is now the very heart of the city.

I then returned and made arrangements for transportation. Twenty-four hives of bees were securely fastened up, with wire cloth covered holes for ventilation; and, with one empty hive for a pattern, I started from Sacramento by steamboat for San Francisco and thence by the steamer *Senator* for San Pedro. The hives were placed clear aft upon the upper deck, and firmly lashed; but one of the crew, thinking he could steal some of the honey, broke open one of the hives, and "burnt" his hands severely in his burglary. The next day the captain and crew and the passengers found out how the little busy bee gets around. But I said not to fight them and then went up on deck, the scattering ones following me and a long stringing lot following the steamer.

I stayed on deck all day, and when night came I opened the aperture, let the great mass on the outside in, and then closed it securely, the queen having remained within. Soon I heard the accustomed hum of content, and went and got a late supper, after which I had a thousand questions asked me – one, by an Irishman, being: "How in the devil was it, that they didn't bite you?" I replied, "Because they were well acquainted with me, and knew me as their friend." The next day we arrived at San Pedro. The bees were brought ashore and were carried up to the bluff, near a ranch, where there was a house. I set the hives on their stools, and at night opened the apertures in each. Early the next morning, the bees were up, cleaning house and examining the country around. At night I closed them all up as before; and when the three spring wagons I had arranged for arrived, they were loaded, and, traveling slowly all night, at daylight we were at our destination in Los Angeles, where the hives were quickly unloaded, placed on their stools, the drivers paid, and I went into my house to take a rest. On waking, I went to view my bees, but thought best not to open the apertures until night. When I went to examine them the next morning, I found them all contentedly at work bringing in supplies, though it was raining hard.

In the months of January and February, as the bees had worked all winter, I saw that the hives were pretty full and the queens had commenced laying, fully two months ahead of those at Sacramento. I therefore had to employ a carpenter and start into hive making to get ready for the increase.

Sometime later I was preparing to divide my swarms again, when Deputy Sheriff Carpenter came to my place and served a summons on me, to immediately attend the district court as a trial juror. I tried to beg off, fearing that my bees would swarm of themselves and I would lose more than a thousand dollars worth. But he would not let me off; and to prevent loss, I raised the lids of my hives a little, which would make the bees stay at home in self defence. I did not even have time to wash my hands. They were stuck up with the aromatic gum or resin, gathered by the bees for the purpose of plastering up their hives inside.

I went up to the courthouse, and found little old Judge Dryden on the bench, all parchment and vinegar. I appealed to him in the most respectful manner to let me off the jury, as my bees were ready to swarm and I would suffer great loss. He very sternly and peremptorily ordered me to take my seat, which I did, and sat silently meditating. Soon one of my bees came hunting me up. It was followed by others, and quickly lawyers, jurymen, officers and witnesses were all in a pitched battle with the bees. I sat unmoved. Soon His Honor had one eye closed; then he was stung on the tip of his nose. Some horses were being stung, and running away in the streets. At last, Carpenter, the deputy sheriff, said to Judge Dryden, "Your Honor, I think you had better dismiss Captain Sherman, as he is the only man who can get these bees out of here." The old judge, still battling away, said, "Mr. Sherman, you are excused, and dismissed from this jury; and if ever I find you here again, I will fine you, and have you imprisoned for contempt of court!"

I requested him and everybody else to leave the courtroom for a short time. They did, and got out of the way at a safe distance, but in sight. I rubbed my hands together briskly, until they were hot and the aroma of the resinous gum on them had attracted the bees as I walked around the courtroom, until I had two large balls, as much as I could carry. Holding them high at arms' length, I passed out of the courtroom and down through the streets to my place, where I gently shook them off on the grass, and then went and closed the hives. An hour afterwards, I went around giving the tops of the hives a gentle rap, which would be responded to by the hum of the contented bees.

Court was adjourned for the day, that the bench and bar might be repaired, and everybody thought I was a wizard.

I petted my bees. I kept myself scrupulously clean, using no liquor or tobacco in any form, for a bee is the cleanest of all insects and animals in the world. I used to talk to them and handle them gently; and at times when I was on the street or on the road, they would come and light on me, and then fly away to their work or return to their hives.

The political parties held their national conventions in 1860. Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin were nominated for president and vice-president by the Republican Party, John Bell and Edward Everett by the American Party [Constitutional-Union Party], John C. Breckenridge by the slave-holding Democratic Party of the South, and Stephen A. Douglas of the Democracy of the Union. The Whig Party being dead, in that campaign in Los Angeles County, I united with the latter, as at that time I believed it to be the most conservative and the most reasonable, and more in harmony with the principles of the constitution of the State of California.

But Abraham Lincoln was constitutionally elected, and like a good citizen I bowed to the express will of the people. At the earnest request of my club, I edited a campaign paper called the *Douglas Democrat*, which ceased publication with the election.

Secession having been commenced by South Carolina, followed by other states, and my business calling me to make a trip to Sacramento, I happened to get on the same steamboat from San Francisco upon which were Senator Latham, Governor Downey, General Denver, and other prominent men, who in a group were discussing the propriety of accepting an invitation to address a Union meeting to be held in San Francisco. It appeared to me at the time that there was a lukewarmness among the whole of them. Downey's great popularity with the San Franciscans had aroused his ambition to be a U. S. Senator to succeed Latham, who was only serving out the remainder of Broderick's term. But Latham did not desire his following him up so closely, and when Downey asked his advice about attending the Union meeting in San Francisco, he recommended him to write a letter excusing himself from attending, and to deprecate the creating of any sectional feeling that would disturb the harmony of the Union, and that no coercive measures should be adopted by the U. S. Government in the troubled condition of the country.

Downey fell into the trap set for him and wrote a letter, which fell upon the San Franciscans like a wet blanket, and he became a self-shattered idol of the people. On the contrary, Latham returned to San Francisco and made a rousing Union speech, and General Denver returned east and was made a brigadier general of volunteers of the Union Army in the Middle West.

I quickly returned to my bee business at Los Angeles and vicinity. A few days afterwards, Senator Latham and wife arrived there, to return to Washington by the southern overland stage route.

I had scattered my hives of bees from Los Angeles to the Mission of San Gabriel, El Monte, Cucamunga, San Bernardino, Agua Mansa, and Anaheim – a triangle of nearly two hundred miles on the three sides. I had to ride nights in transporting them in my spring wagon; and as money became scarce, I had to sell, partly for cash and the rest in horses, mules, wine, and brandy, which I shipped to the upper country. I was wearing myself out;

so I wrote to my partner that I must quit, and that he must either come himself, or send a man to take charge of his share of the bees. He sent a man, the hives were equally divided, and I disposed of the remainder that were mine by taking in exchange a printing office with the press and type of the San Bernardino *Herald*, formerly the San Diego *Herald*, owned by the widow of J. Judson Ames,[121] and upon which Capt. George H. Derby, U. S. A., had played his mischievous pranks as "John Phoenix" and "Squibob," then the most renowned wag of the world.

I changed the name of the paper to that of *The Patriot*, a staunch uncompromising Union journal, loyal to the government and the American flag among renegade Mormons, secession sympathizers and openly avowed armed rebels. On the 24th of June 1861, by invitation from Unity Lodge 130 F. & A. M., I delivered an address at the celebration of St. John the Baptist's Day. A procession was formed with a band, solely of fiddlers, to lead it, who fiddled and marched and marched and fiddled through the streets of San Bernardino to the grove in the rear of Bro. Charles Zeigler's fine residence, where the exercises were held. My theme was loyalty to the U. S. Constitution, the government and the flag, an earnest appeal to their patriotism as citizens and as Masons, the peace to be preserved at all hazards. But it was like trying to hold a prayer meeting in hell. . . .

The previous rebellion of Brigham Young and the Mormons at Salt Lake, and the orders he had sent to the colony at San Bernardino to sell out at any cost and return to Zion at Salt Lake City, had divided the people of that faith, the sacrifice being too great for some, who would not leave their homes and did not believe in nor practice polygamy. After the hegira of the greater portion of the Mormon population had taken place, an influx of mixed gentiles occurred, mostly of southern frontier people; but the newly discovered gold placer mines in Holcombe Valley, high up in the San Bernardino Range nearby, had attracted several thousand prospecting miners and merchants to locate there.

The Morman Endowment House at San Bernardino, a two story adobe building, which had been sold for a song, had become occupied; the lower story by J. Judson Ames with the Herald printing office, removed from San Diego; and the upper story by "Unity Lodge No. 130 F. & A. M." But the freemasonry taught and practiced there was not of the proper character, and Grand Master William C. Belcher after receiving my account, which was confirmed by James Lander of Los Angeles, his special deputy, recalled the charter, which was declared forfeited by the Grand Lodge, and "Unity Lodge" ceased to exist. The death of J. Judson Ames, publisher of the "Herald," also caused that newspaper's demise, and the press and material passed into my hands as stated.

Publishing a loyal Union journal at the risk of life, and occasionally shot at from a distance to intimidate me, I pursued the even tenor of my way with rather a baritone bass but no falsetto notes. I was fortunate in my own secret service in getting hold of the plot of the secessionists to take California out of the Union. This I sent in a letter under seal to Col. Edward D. Baker, U. S. Senator for Oregon, enclosed in another to a merchant in New York City with a request to forward to Washington, the two in one package under cover to the late James V. McClatchy, editor and publisher of the *Bee* at Sacramento, to forward by Pony Overland Express from there, which he did with other information from that part of the state.

* * * * *

The arrival of Gen. Sumner saved California to the Union . . . California was gradually being placed in a state of defense. . . . Major James H. Carlton, clad in citizen's dress, was sent to me on a secret mission at San Bernardino, as the secessionists there were becoming very active and violent, and he had an opportunity to see for himself the condition of things. Almost immediately after he left, I learned of two plots of treason and outbreaks which, through my half dozen loyal watchmen, I was able to assist in defeating. I learned that it was planned to surprise and attack the small detail of dragoons and stampede their horses at the river ford in Los Angeles, where they were to be watered, one man leading by the halters two or more extra horses besides the one he was riding. One half of the command, fully armed and equipped was sent at a time and, as soon as watered, the other half was ready for the same duty. Thus that scheme was defeated.

The next was of a more outrageous and intended murderous character, to be carried out on the state election day in 1861 for governor and state officers, legislature, etc., when there were three parties with their candidates in the field, the Union Democracy with John Conness for governor, the Southern Democracy with John R. McConnell, and the Republican with Leland Stanford for governor, respectively. California was seething in a bubbling political cauldron. From Visalia to San Diego conspirators were active and arming and ready to begin their deadly work at the close of the state election.

At San Bernardino the property of loyal Union men was to be seized and destroyed by fire, and the owners shot down wherever resistance would be made. Frontiersmen from Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, Utah and elsewhere were to begin their bloody work in that town. The fire of hatred was especially concentrated upon *The Patriot*, which I was publishing at great personal risk and financial loss, and upon myself. After getting the particulars of the plot of the contemplated attack, which was to commence when the polls were closed at the courthouse, I sent the information with a letter by a trusty messenger by a circuitous route to Capt. Davidson at Los Angeles, who at once got ready for the crisis. He started with his command at night, skirting the base of the mountain range and halting out of sight near the Cucamunga Ranch until nightfall, when he resumed his march until he struck the head of a ravine, heavily wooded with willows. This he followed down to within a hundred yards of my residence, where his command was effectively concealed and kept in readiness.

The next day was the election, and mischief was on foot and on horseback. The "secesh" had placed their mounted pickets in a cordon on the outer edge of the town and no one was allowed to pass. I hired a livery team of a Mr. Kinman and, with Capt. Davidson in citizen's dress, started out to examine the streets and roads leading out of town, and saw people turned back as well as ourselves, so completely was it guarded. We then drove to the Courthouse Square, where there was a turbulent crowd, evidently waiting for something to happen. In response to our inquiry as to when the polls would close, the reply was "in about twenty minutes."

We drove to my house and Capt. Davidson gave orders to his subordinates. Upon our return to the courthouse we found about a hundred horses saddled and bridled hitched to the fence, and as many armed men standing around, the most of them boisterous and under the influence of liquor. Soon there was a movement among the crowd and one of them impatiently hallooed, "Say fellers, isn't it time to begin!" just as the polls were being declared closed. A ruffian attempted to seize our team, while another grabbed Capt. Davidson and asked him, "Who in the hell are you?" In an instant he was under the horses' feet. At almost the same moment, as if they had sprung out of the ground, the mounted squadron of dragoons appeared with their carbines, covering every one of that band of secessionists, intended thieves and murderers, the most of whom dropped on their knees, begging "don't shoot!" Then the Virginia ire of Capt. Davidson was let loose, and he swore and cursed them in superlative classical style. He made them deliver up their arms and ordered them to leave California, and "if he found one of them this side of the Colorado River within three days he would hang them." The dragoons ran them out of town, and in a day or two returned to their camp at Los Angeles, being relieved by a battalion of infantry of the regular army commanded by Major Russell, and that in turn by several companies of California volunteers (cavalry) commanded by Lieut. Col. Edward Eyre.

That part of the state having been protected, the rainy season having set in, and the country in the valleys being flooded, the people and the troops were kept busy in trying to save life and property. I ceased publishing my paper, boxed up the printing material and, placing it in charge of my foreman, a Mr. Freanor, made arrangements with a Mr. Harvey Ladd to remove it *via* Cajon Pass, the Walker Pass, Owens River and up the mountains to Aurora, then the county seat of Mono County, California (as well as of Esmeralda County, Nevada, the boundary line not then having been run). Leaving matters thus, I took my departure from San Bernardino for Los Angeles and San Pedro, where I was the guest of Col.

George S. Evans at his camp, and thence by steamer to San Francisco and Sacramento. I found a large portion of the latter under water in December 1861, and January and February 1862, and was compelled to wait until the next May in order to cross the Sierra Nevada and reach my press at Aurora.

. . .

Having been requested to visit San Francisco, I called on Gen. George Wright, U. S. A., at his headquarters on Washington Street opposite Portsmouth Square, and he thanked me most heartily for what I had done in support of the Union cause with my paper and personal service otherwise. I asked him, "Gen. Wright, did you ever see me before?" He could not remember that he had. I then asked him if he was not Major of the Eighth Infantry in the Mexican War. He replied, "I was." Then I said, "I belonged to Company A of that regiment, and straddled a forty-two pound cannon ball fired at point blank range from a Mexican battery at Vera Cruz that came very near taking your head off!" "My God! Are you that young man?" he asked, and shook my hand most heartily. He then took down from a shelf a book of the War Department and read, "E. A. Sherman, Co. A, 8th Infantry, slightly wounded in the trench near Battery No. 2 by a cannon ball passing between his thighs, producing a slight contusion on each, March 23d 1847." (From report of Col. Wm. S. Harney, Colonel of 2d Dragoons, Commanding 1st Brigade.)

In our conversation he told me I could do more good work with my press and paper in publishing loyal patriotic sentiments than if I were in the army for the then present. I replied that I was well posted in tactics, had commanded a company and studied "Jomini's Art of War," very thoroughly; and with my experience in the Mexican War, and afterwards in fighting Indians, I could at least do as well as those who were new at the business. He then replied, "At the present time we need you more with your loyal press than with a regiment of infantry or a battry of artillery." I waited a few days in San Francisco for the remains of Col. Baker to arrive so that I could attend his funeral in Platt's Hall on the site of the present Mills Building, corner of Montgomery and Bush streets, where Bishop Kip of the Episcopal Church read the services, and Rev. Thomas Starr King delivered the eulogy. At the close, with other veterans of the Mexican War as a bodyguard to the remains, we marched in procession to Laurel Hill Cemetery where they were deposited with military honors near the monument of his friend Broderick, whose eulogy he himself had pronounced at his funeral nearly three years before. I then returned to Sacramento, to await the lowering of the spring floods.

[As the next section is called "The Discovery of Silver in Nevada," the Quarterly concludes at this point its last installment of Major Sherman's Recollections.]

NOTES

118. Not only Aristotle, but Virgil, Cicero, and Pliny studied bee life and left records of their observations.

119. Southern Asia is said to have been the original home of the bee; and some idea of the antiquity of its participation in human affairs may be seen in the occurrence of a hieroglyphic bee on a sarcophagus dating from 3633 B. C. The Indians of California had another source of "honey." *See* Robert F. Heiser, "Honey-Dew Sugar in Western North America"; and Volney H. Jones, "The Use of Honey-Dew as Food by Indians," in *Masterkey* (published by the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles), XIX, Sept. 1945, pp. 140-49.

120. It was indeed a growing industry – by 1944 the California honey crop amounted to 16,450,000 lbs. (prelim. figures).

121. *Cf.* Carl I. Wheat, "The Old Ames Press – A Venerable Pioneer," this QUARTERLY, IX, No. 3 (Sept. 1930), pp. 193-200.

Recent Californiana

A Check List of Publications Relating to California

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

ALTROCCHI, JULIA COOLEY
The Old California Trail. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1945. 327 pp. illus. $4.00.

BRUNER, HELEN M.
California's Old Burying Grounds. Prepared for the National Society of Colonial Dames of America Resident in the State of California. San Francisco: [Portal Press] 1945. 24 pp. illus.

KEMPER, LUCREZIA
The Story of Keyston Bros., Seventy-five Years of a Business and a Family. [San Francisco] 1944. 52 pp. illus.

MCFIE, MAYNARD
The Gay Nineties. [Los Angeles: The Sunset Club, 1945] 25 pp.

NASATIR, ABRAHAM P.
French Activities in California: an Archival Calendar Guide. Stanford University Press, [1945] xiii + 559 pp. $10.00.

PARTON, MARGARET
Laughter on the Hill, a San Francisco Interlude. New York: Whittlesey House, 1945. 245 pp. $2.75.

RYDER, DAVID WARREN
Storied San Francisco. [San Francisco: Fireman's Fund Insurance Company, 1945] 54 pp. illus. plates.

SAN MARTÍN, JOSÉ
Memorials and Proposals on the Californias, Mexico, 1822. Translated into English with an Introduction by Henry R. Wagner. 1945. 24 pp. $5.00.

SHERMAN, WILLIAM TECUMSEH
Recollections of California, 1846-1861. Oakland, Calif., Biobooks 1945. 3 + 147 pp. facsims.

TEISER, RUTH
An Account of Domingo Ghirardelli and the early Years of the D. Ghirardelli Company. San Francisco, 1945. 30 pp. port.

WHITNAH, JOSEPH C.
A History of Richmond, California. Published by the Richmond Chamber of Commerce, 1944. 128 pp. illus.

WOLFE, LINNIE MARSH
Son of the Wilderness: the Life of John Muir. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945. 364 + xvi pp. illus. port. $3.50.

WYNN, MARCIA RITTENHOUSE
Pioneer Family of Whiskey Flat. [Los Angeles: Haynes Corporation, 1945]. 130 pp. illus.

THE ZAMORANO 80, a Selection of Distinguished California Books made by Members of the Zamorano Club. Los Angeles, The Zamorano Club, 1945. 66 pp. illus. $7.50.

News of the Society

Gifts Received by the Society

June 1 to August 31, 1945

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MR. S. G. BLOOMFIELD, BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICES – *Britain and World War II: a Chronology, Volume 1, September 1939 – December, 1940.* May, 1945.

From MRS . MAE HÉLÈNE BACON BOGGS – Dunne, Peter Masten, S. J., *A Padre Views South America.* Milwaukee, Bruce Publishing Company, 1945.

From MR. T. M. FAIRCHILD – Fairchild, T. M., *The Name and Family of Fairchild*, Revised edition, Iowa City, Mercer Printing Company, 1944.

From MR. VALLEJO GANTNER – Gantner & Mattern Co., *Gantner Spans the Pacific Circle*, April 2, 1945; *San Francisco Backdrop for Gantner Sweaters*, 1944.

From D. GHIRARDELLI COMPANY – Teiser, Ruth, *An Account of Domingo Ghirardelli and the Early Years of the D. Ghirardelli Company*, San Francisco, 1945.

From MR. GEORGE L. HARDING – Instituto Norteamericano de Artes Graficas. *Las Artes del Libro en los Estados Unidos, 1931–1941*, Nueva York, 1942.

From PROFESSOR WALTER L. HOWARD – Howard, Walter L., *Luther Burbank's Plant Contributions*, University of California Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 691, March, 1945.

From MRS. M. LOBNER – Cronise, Titus Fey, *The Natural Wealth of California*, San Francisco, H. H. Bancroft & Company, 1868.

From OAKLAND CHAMBER OF COMMERCE – *Metropolitan Oakland Area, Alameda County, California, the Natural Industrial Center of the New West*, 1945.

From MRS. BLANCHE L. RICE, MRS. GRACE L. JEWETT, MRS. HAZEL D. HEILBRON – Thompson & West, publishers, *Official and Historical Atlas Map of Alameda County, California*, Oakland, 1878. Given in Memory of M. J. Laymance, by his Sisters.

From MR. DAVID W. RYDER – Ryder, David W., *San Francisco's Emperor Norton*, San Francisco, 1939.

From MR. F. H. SILCOCK – Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Co., *Telephone Directory for the United Nations Conference on International Organization*, San Francisco, California, First Issue, April 25, 1945.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER – Contributions to the History of the Pacific Northwest: Botting, Roland B., *James M. Comstock, Pioneer Citizen*, 1938; Johnson, Claudius O., *George Douglas Minnick*, 1939; Vincent, W. D. *The Astorians*, 1928; *The Hudson's Bay Company*, 1927; *The Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1929; *The Northwest Company*, 1930; Wynn, Marcia Rittenhouse, *Pioneer Family of Whiskey Flat*, Los Angeles, Haynes Corporation, c. 1945.

From MR. FREDERICK WUERCH – *Edwin White Newhall*, n.d.

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

From MR. HARRY W. FRANZ – *En Guardia*, Año 4, No. 6, 1945; *En Guardia*, Año 4, No. 7, 1945; *Boletín de la Unión Panamericana*, Vol. LXXIX, No. 8, Agosto, 1945.

From MRS. M. LOBNER – *Daily Dramatic Chronicle*, San Francisco, Vol. 1, No. 23, February 10, 1865 (Reprint 1935); *The Oriental, Chinese Newspaper*, Friday, Aug. 13, 1886. 800 Washington St., S. F.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS – *The Argonaut*, July 7, 1906; *Philopolis*, February 25, 1909.

PICTURES

From HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO – Photograph of a California Mission Indian (Framed); San Francisco in 1847 (Oil Painting).

From MRS. M. LOBNER – Photographs: Charles Crocker Residence, San Francisco; Foot of Market Street, San Francisco [1886]; G. A. R. Parade, San Francisco, August, 1886; Cliff House and Seal Rocks, San Francisco.

From HAYWARD THOMAS, M. D. – Photograph of Mark Twain (Framed).

MISCELLANEOUS

From MRS. C. J. BINGHAM – Information about Mr. Adolph Verhaghen (typed); Letters Patent granted to Mr. Adolph Verhaghen, September 5, 1893, for Mosaic Art-Glass; Two Medals awarded to Adolph Verhaghen for Painting on Porcelain, by Mechanics Institute, San Francisco, Industrial Exhibitions in 1887 and 1890.

From MR. ALFRED KENNEDY – Wilcox, Ella Wheeler, The Stricken City, written expressly for the Hearst San Francisco Relief Fund. Music by Prof. F. Fanciulli. Music Section of the San Francisco *Examiner*, May 27, 1906.

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M. D. – Regular Democratic Ticket, First Congressional District [1879]; Regular Ticket Workingmen's Party, California, 11th Senatorial District [1879].

From MRS. M. LOBNER – Theatre Programs; Clippings.

From MR. GEORGE POULTNEY – Program: Souvenir 150th Performance at Stockwell's Theatre, "The Favorite" and "My Uncle's Will."

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS – Auction Catalogs; Newspaper clippings; Post Cards.

Meetings

Because of the summer vacation, the California Historical Society has held but one luncheon meeting since the last issue of the Quarterly. This gathering took place at the Palace Hotel on June 14, 1945, when Mr. Joseph R. Knowland, publisher and editor of the Oakland *Tribune*, spoke on the subject of the three centennial celebrations to be held in California, namely: the discovery of gold in 1848, the Days of Forty-nine, and the admission of California to statehood in 1850. He stated that for nearly five years these centennials have been under serious consideration and now with the ending of the war definite plans are taking shape: that various organizations interested in the history of the state are giving their support to these celebrations: for instance the Chamber of Commerce is working on this project as well as the Native Sons and the Native Daughters of the Golden West who have been active for nearly half a century in preserving California history. Mr. Knowland considered that the great interest displayed in the incorporation of the bonanza mining town of Columbia in the State Park System, indicated the feeling of the people of California in regard to early events and he predicted that there would be many local celebrations, as well as the state wide recognition that one hundred years had passed since California took its place in United States history.

In Memoriam

FREDERICK JOHN BOWLEN

1882–1945

Frederick John Bowlen, senior battalion chief of the San Francisco Fire Department, passed away at San Francisco – the city of his birth – on March 8, 1945.

Son of Thomas Bowlen, a pioneer of 1850 by way of Cape Horn and one of the fabulous characters of San Francisco's early days, a member of both the Police and Fire Departments, Chief Bowlen inherited his interest in, and love of, his native city, where he was born April 28, 1882. Following his education in the San Francisco Public Schools where part of the time he was a pupil of Blanche Bates, on November 1, 1903 he joined the San Francisco Fire Department. The fire of April 18, 1906 found the Chief stationed on Howard Street near Third, where for some time the equipment was rendered useless, as the horses had escaped from the engine house with the onset of the disaster.

A monument to Chief Bowlen is his history of the San Francisco Fire Department consisting of sixty-three volumes (22,000 typewritten pages and containing a complete list of the names and services of every man connected with the department since its origin, as well as a list of all fires, etc.). In 1939 the San Francisco *Chronicle* published in sixty installments, a history of the Fire Department by the Chief.

Due to ill health, in July of 1944, he retired but his interest in history never diminished. The California Historical Society received many gifts from Chief Bowlen and the attendance at our luncheon meetings when he spoke was always outstanding.

To his widow, Ann H. Bowlen, and the San Francisco Fire Department Historical Society, which he founded and of which he was president at the time of his death, we extend our deepest sympathy.

A. T. LEONARD, JR., M. D.

CHARLES NORRIS

1881–1945

Charles Norris, a novelist of national reputation, died at Palo Alto, July 25, 1945. Although born in Chicago, he received his education and spent much of his life on the Pacific Coast. He studied at the University of California where he was a member of the *Phi Gamma Delta Fraternity*. In 1903 he received his Ph.D. degree from this University. His first business venture was as clerk in his father's jewelry store but the lure of the printed page soon ended this career and he turned to newspaper reporting and magazine writing. Later he became Art Editor of the American Magazine, Editor of Sunset Magazine and a member of the staff of the Christian Science Monitor.

In 1909 he married Kathleen Thompson who later became famous as a novelist but was at that time the society reporter on a western newspaper. In later years Mr. and Mrs. Norris spent much time in New York but they always returned with contentment and pleasure to their homes in California: *La Estancia* at Saratoga and *La Casa Abierta* at Palo Alto: the latter was well named "Open House" for here the spirit of early Spanish hospitality still existed in the cordial welcome extended to friends and young writers who sought the advice of Mr. and Mrs. Norris.

Like his brother, Frank, the latter part of the life of Charles Norris was devoted to the writing of novels. These were serious works of a social nature, with monosyllabic titles "to make people think" the author said. Some of his best known works were: *Bread*, dealing with the life of working women: *Brass*, a study of marriage and *Salt*, a treatise on education. His last book, *Flint*, published in 1944, was a story of San Francisco. He was a member of the Bohemian Club and was the author of three plays presented at the Bohemian Club Grove.

He is survived by his wife, Kathleen, and a son, Frank.

THOMAS F. PRENDERGAST

1862–1945

Judge Thomas F. Prendergast, who served San Francisco for thirty-three years on the Municipal Bench and was also an authority on California history, died in San Francisco on July 28, 1945. He had the longest Municipal career ever recorded by the City.

He was born in Athy, Ireland, and attended the University of Dublin. His early interest and devotion to the land of his birth remained with him throughout his life and he delved into California history to learn what his compatriots had done for the land of his adoption. So thorough was his study that he became an authority on this subject. His talent as a writer was discovered by M. H. de Young, founder of the San Francisco *Chronicle*, through an article that the young Irishman had written for a trade paper of his employers, Dun and Bradstreet. He was offered a job on the *Chronicle* and later helped support himself while studying law by writing for the *Morning Call*. In 1900 he was admitted to the Bar and became a Justice of the Peace. He helped found the Municipal Court of San Francisco of which he was so long a member.

As a recreation he continued to study California history, especially in regard to the share the Irish had had in the development of the State. He wrote several volumes on this subject, the last of which was published in 1942. It bore the title: *Forgotten Pioneers – Irish Leaders in Early California*. Many will recall with interest his address on this subject before a luncheon meeting of the California Historical Society, March 14, 1943.

Judge Prendergast's wife died in 1937. He is survived by two daughters, Mrs. Eloise Storss and Mrs. Kathleen Hayden, and a son, John G. Prendergast, of San Carlos.

New Members

Active

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Raoul H. Blanquie, D.D.S.	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
F. Richard Brace	Berkeley	Lee Stopple
LeRoy Briggs	San Francisco	William Cavalier
S. W. Campbell	Redwood City	George L. Harding
Henry C. Carlisle	San Francisco	Maxwell Milton
Richard E. Hambrook	San Francisco	N. R. Powley
James E. Holbrook	Berkeley	A. S. Macdonald
E. E. Hutching	Burlingame	Membership Committee
Joseph Henry Jackson	San Francisco	William Cavalier and Allen L. Chickering
A. C. Jensen	San Leandro	Ralph H. Cross
George H. Jess	San Francisco	N. R. Powley
Ralph T. Keenan	San Francisco	G. H. Kress, M.D., and F. M. McAuliffe
Arthur H. Kent	San Francisco	G. D. Merner and Carl I. Wheat
W. A. Moxley	Lebanon, Ore.	Membership Committee
J. Philip Murphy	San Francisco	F. M. McAuliffe
Mrs. Louis Stern	Palo Alto	George L. Harding
A. C. Steven	Berkeley	G. D. Merner and Carl I. Wheat
Samuel S. Stevens	San Francisco	G. H. Kress and F. M. MacAuliffe
Healey Tondel	Fresno	Membership Committee
William C. Waack	San Francisco	William Cavalier
Howard Willoughby	San Francisco	Edgar M. Kahn

Marginalia

Dr. Paul S. Taylor,* professor of economics at the University of California, writes with authority on the history of agricultural labor in California. His experience and study have covered a wide field. He was born in Iowa, took his B.A. degree at the University of Wisconsin and in 1922 his Ph.D. degree at the University of California. Since that time he has been connected with the economics department of the University of California. He has been a member of various labor councils and has written extensively on that subject. He has studied with especial interest the Mexican labor problem in the United States and recorded his research in books and magazines.

Mrs. Alice B. Maloney, author of *Shasta Was Shatasla in 1814*, has long been a member of the editorial board of the Quarterly and has not only aided in the selection of material for publication but has frequently contributed, as in this number. She was born in Oregon where she and her late husband, Michael C. Maloney, were publishers of the Coos Bay *Times*, in Marshfield, Oregon, and later of the Santa Ana, California, *Times*. She has contributed also to the Oregon Historical Quarterly.

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*For further information see Who's Who in America.

Miss Dorothy Huggins, whose article, *Women in War-time San Francisco, 1864*, appears in this issue, is well known to the members both personally and through the excellent service she rendered to the Society. For many years she was a member of its staff and the high quality of the Quarterly in the past was largely due to her discriminating judgment and hard work. Miss Huggins is now on the staff of the University of California Press.

Among our new members:

Dr. Raoul H. Blanquie was born in San Francisco of French parentage. His father, who came to San Francisco in the eighties, was the proprietor of Jack's Restaurant (oldest French Restaurant in San Francisco) from 1888 to 1924. Dr. Raoul H. Blanquie finished his secondary school work in Paris and received his degree of Doctor of Dental Surgery from the College of Physicians and Surgeons in San Francisco. He served with the 23rd Machine Gun Battalion – 8th Division, United States Army, in World War 1. Later he became a special lecturer, at the College of Dentistry, University of California, and Associate Professor at the College of Physicians and Surgeons. He is a past president of the Alliance Française of San Francisco. Dr. Blanquie has taken an active part in the dental associations of the State and the Nation. He is a Knight of the Legion of Honor of France.

LeRoy H. Briggs was born in Oakland, California. His parents arrived on the Pacific by the first train, in 1869, his sister, the late Anna Frances Lane being the first baby in arms to cross the continent in that manner. His father, Colonel Briggs, had been sent from Washington, D. C., to Port Townsend to be Collector of the Port, where he remained for over a decade during the famous boom days of that community. Dr. Briggs received his early education in the Oakland schools and in 1908 graduated from the University of California Medical School. He has been associated with the University ever since, being Clinical Professor of Medicine for the past twenty years. His medical offices are in San Francisco where he has a large practice.

S. W. Campbell is Vice-President and Comptroller of the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company.

Henry C. Carlisle is the possessor of about one hundred and twenty-five letters written from Martinez, California, during the years 1850 to 1860. His grandfather owned the ferry running between Martinez and Benicia and these letters contain much interesting source material.

Richard E. Hambrook was born in Phoenix, Arizona. His grandmother, in 1857, traveled West in a covered wagon but the party was detained at an Army post in Arizona because of hostile Indians. Richard E. Hambrook is a graduate of West Vernon Grammar School, Los Angeles, and in 1921 received a B.S. degree in electrical engineering from the California Institute of Technology. He is now Vice-President and General Manager of the Northern California-Nevada area, Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company.

James E. Holbrook is the grandson of Major Holbrook who came to California in the early fifties as a United States Army surgeon stationed at Benicia Barracks. His father, as well as himself, was born in California where he not only practiced as a physician but engaged in mining enterprises. James E. Holbrook is an enthusiastic collector of books and photographs relating to the mining region.

Edwin E. Hutching, Ph.D., F.A.I.C., Medical Bio-chemist, was born in the North Beach District of San Francisco. He graduated from the College of Physicians and Surgeons and the University of California. He has held the positions of Bacteriologist to the San Francisco Board of Health, Director of Laboratories at the Napa State Hospital, and has directed his own laboratories in Seattle and San Francisco since 1913. In recent years his reading and library acquisitions have been directed toward Spain, Mexico and California.

Joseph Henry Jackson,* literary editor of the San Francisco *Chronicle*, has a national reputation as a book-reviewer and author. He has been connected with various well-known California publications, namely, the *Argonaut*, *Sunset Magazine* and, since 1930, with the San Francisco *Chronicle*. Although an Easterner by birth, his books have dealt largely with the West. His trips to Mexico and Guatemala resulted in two delightful travel books, *A Mexican Interlude* and *Notes on a Drum*. But to the readers of the *Quarterly* probably of even greater interest are his books on California, entitled: *Tintypes in Gold*, *Anybody's Gold*, and the volume of short stories which he collected, *Continent's End*. From 1935 to 1942 he served as a member of the board of judges for the O. Henry Memorial Award. Mr. Jackson's book-review pages in the San Francisco *Chronicle* are doubtless familiar to all of our members.

A. C. Jensen, Superintendent of Fairmont Hospital of Alameda County, was born in Colorado and passed his childhood on a Prairie homestead. He arrived in California in 1907 and soon became interested in the history of the State. During 1918 and 1919, while serving as field agent for the California State Board of Charities and Corrections, he visited and inspected all county hospitals. At that time many of the pioneers of the gold era were still patients and inmates of these institutions, especially in the mountain counties. Through conversations with these men he heard many interesting stories of early California and gained much first hand knowledge of pioneer life. Mr. Jensen is especially interested in the Missions, practically all of which he has visited.

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*For further information see Who's Who in America.

George H. Jess, Operating Vice-President of the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company, is a Californian by birth. His father arrived in the State in 1850 *via* Cape Horn, and after mining on the Feather and Yuba rivers, he turned his interest toward raising cattle, the location of his ranch subsequently becoming known as Jess Valley.

Ralph T. Keenan is Vice-President of the Pacific Bridge Company, with offices in San Francisco and Seattle. He was born in Carthage, New York, and has been in the construction business practically all of his life.

Arthur H. Kent was born in Lincoln, Nebraska, but came to the Pacific Coast at the age of nineteen years. He received his A.B. degree at the University of Southern California and his J.D. degree at Stanford (Law). He is an attorney at law, specializing in Federal and State Taxation. Mr. Kent is greatly interested in the early history of the State and in the development of its legal and political institutions.

W. A. Moxley is a new member from out of the State. He is engaged in farming near Lebanon, Oregon, although his earlier years were devoted to mining in California.

J. Philip Murphy is President of The J. Philip Murphy Corporation, steel fabricators of San Francisco.

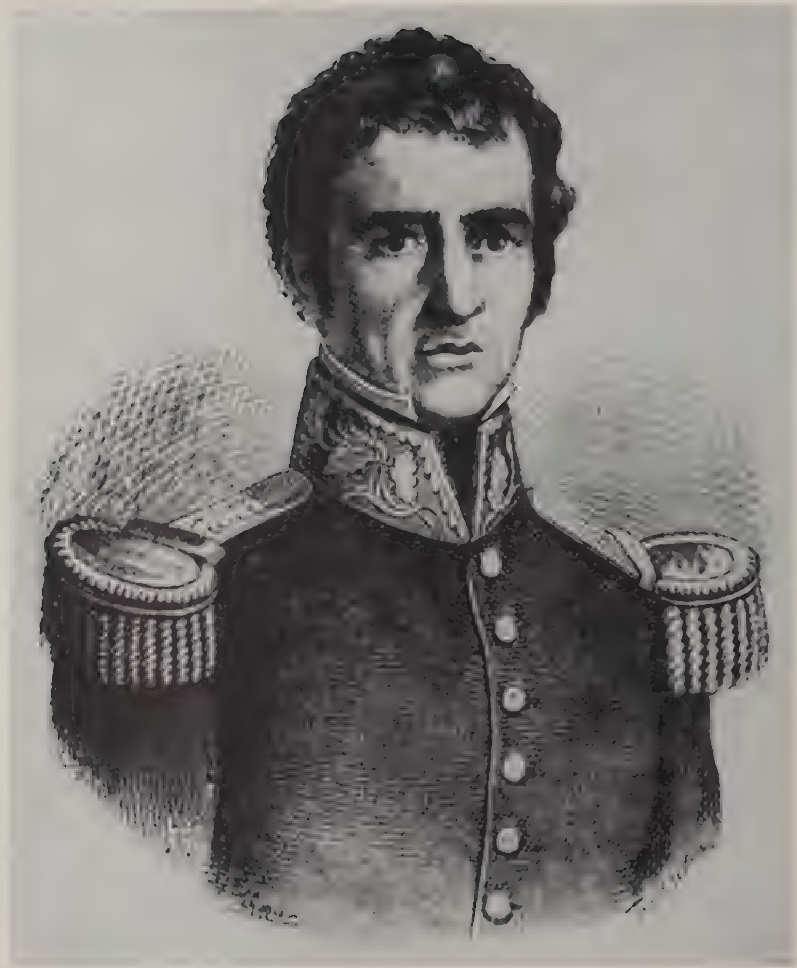
Mrs. Louis Stern was born in Sarrebourg, Lorraine, France, and came to San Francisco with her parents at the age of six months. Except for a short period of her married life in New York, she has lived most of the time in San Francisco. At present her home is in Palo Alto, where her interests are divided between Stanford University and the welfare of the youth of her community.

Samuel S. Stevens was born in Indiana but came to California with his parents in 1895. He attended the University of California and graduated from Hastings Law College in 1913. Since 1923 he has been a member of the legal firm of Heller, Ehrman, White and McAuliffe.

Healey Tondel is a student in the School of Jurisprudence of the University of California. He was born in Fresno and is a graduate of the Fresno State College. He has written several articles in the field of Californiana.

Howard Willoughby, although not a Californian by birth, has rendered a great service to the State of his adoption. As Vice-President and General Manager of the *Sunset Magazine* he has issued a periodical that has carried the literary and artistic values of California far beyond the state boundaries.

The Society is fortunate in adding to its staff Mrs. Edna Martin Parratt, formerly of the Bancroft Library at the University of California. Her wide knowledge of California history and her ability as a research worker make her services a valuable asset to the Historical Society.



GUADALUPE VICTORIA, PRESIDENT OF MEXICO, 1824-1829
From Vicente Riva Palacio, *Mexico á través de los Siglos,*
in the Bancroft Library

Principal Actions of the California Junta De Fomento 1825-1827

Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by KELD J. REYNOLDS

INTRODUCTION

THE Mexican commission for the development of the two Californias was created by an executive order of President Guadalupe Victoria, dated July 17, 1824. The proceedings,* the translation of which follows, were published in Mexico City in 1827, from notes left by the deceased Don José Mariano Almanza, who had been a member of the commission. According to these notes, the junta drew up seven documents:

The Dictamen, a set of instructions to be given to the next governor of California, completed January 3, 1825.

A plan for the administration of the missions, dated April 6, 1825.

Regulations for the colonization of California by foreigners, dated April 21, 1825.

Regulations for the colonization of California by Mexican nationals, dated May 30, 1825.

A plan for the establishment of a joint stock company for trade with Asia, with headquarters at Monterey, dated December 14, 1825.

An initiative, or proposal of a legal code for the territories, dated May 12, 1827, and with it a plan for dividing the Californias into sub-districts, dated June 26, 1826.

The Voto Final, or final opinion of the junta, with a list of all the members who had served, dated May 15, 1827.

The last two documents were sent to the president of the republic on August 31, 1827, with a letter announcing the closing of the work of the commission and requesting its dissolution. The letter was written by the president then serving, Don Juan Francisco Azcárate y Lezama.

The work of the junta is significant because it was the greatest single effort of the Mexican Republic to plan for the development of California. Some of the most prominent Californians, Mexican legislators and cabinet members, and the president of the republic, looked upon the proceedings as an intelligent and promising effort to further the welfare and colonization of the territory, and to draw a blueprint for its government.

The plans present a synthesis of old and new hispanic ideas of colonial administration. References to the laws of Charles I, Philip II, and Charles III indicate familiarity with the great Spanish colonial codes, the *Recopilación*, and the *Nueva Recopilación*. There are also numerous references to the

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* Under the title *Junta de Fomento de Californias*, the collected pamphlets in which the proceedings were published may be found in the Bancroft Library, the Huntington Library, and the Hope Street City Library in Los Angeles. All of these are complete sets. Individual pamphlets can be consulted elsewhere; for instance, "Plan de Colonización Estrangero" is at the Santa Barbara Mission.

De Neve code for California, and to the instructions for the frontier military posts of New Spain, of 1772, as well as to the instructions of José de Gálvez. Yet, when it came to setting up legal codes for the frontier territory, the junta leaned most heavily upon the enactments of the liberal Spanish Cortes of 1811 to 1813, 1820 and 1821. Among the examples of this trend are to be noted the determination to secularize the missions according to the principles laid down by the Cortes, September 13, 1813, and the insistence that the Indians be given the civil and political rights belonging to Mexican citizens. The tendency to disparage the work of the missionaries, and to find them lacking in loyalty to the government, reflects the anti-clerical attitudes of the hispanic liberals of the time.

It is evident that the members of the commission were familiar with the reports and descriptions of California by some of the great missionaries, notably Father Miguel Venegas, the accounts of voyages up the California coasts, and the findings and recommendations of the Canon Agustín Fernández de San Vicente, as given in 1822 to his master, the Emperor Agustín I. The information was not confined to Spanish or Mexican sources. The junta was familiar with the works of Alexander von Humboldt, particularly the *Essay on New Spain*, as well as with the works of great French, Russian, and English travelers who knew something of California. Venegas' *Noticia de la California y de su Conquista Temporal y Espiritual*, edited by Father Andrés Marcos Burrièl, and published in Madrid in 1757, appears to have been drawn upon most heavily. On the other hand, the annual reports of the California missionaries after 1822 do not appear to have been used at all.

The proceedings refer to some liberal writings, notably the monumental work on government, colonies, economic and mercantile theories, and the rights of man, *L'Histoire Philosophique des Établissements de Européens dans les deux Indes*, by Guillaume Thomas François, abbé de Raynal. The abbé's theories for stimulating trade and for dealing with the "noble savage" are readily discernible in the junta notes.

MEMBERS OF THE JUNTA

The twenty members and two secretaries of the junta probably represented a fair cross section of the Mexican upper classes of the eighteen-twenties. The leading spirit was the ex-lieutenant in the Spanish royal navy, Francisco de Paula Tamariz. As master in 1805 and again in 1807 of the bark *Activo*, a government transport, Tamariz became familiar with a few California ports, but he alienated the friars because of reported conduct vigorously deprecated by their spokesman.* In May 1814, Tamariz submitted to the king, through the viceroy of New Spain, a memorial presenting in glowing terms the rich natural resources of California, its value to the crown, the danger of foreign aggressions, and the advisability of secularizing the missions. The king directed that a junta should be called to consider the report. It met in 1817 and on July 5 made recommendations in harmony with the Tamariz memorial. No action was taken at the time, but Tamariz was thereafter recognized as a leader of the anti-clericals who sought to secularize the missions, and as an advocate of California development. His arguments in the memorial were repeated by the anti-clericals, while the rebuttal of the friars on that occasion was afterwards repeated again and again, in defense of the missions. His contributions were recognized by the junta in 1827 in the proposal that he should be made governor of California. The legislation of that year directed against Spaniards put an end to any hopes Tamariz may have had in that direction.

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* Padre Domingo Rivas, "Parecer formado por el Padre Domingo Rivas a petición de D. Joaquín Cortina, en repulsa del informe dado a S. M. sobre mejoras de la Nueva California," in *Las Misiones de la Alta California*, Mexico, 1914, pp. 121-94.

The connection of the junta with the liberal Spanish Cortes probably came about through three of the members, José Mariano Almanza, who in 1812 was a member of the Spanish Council of State for North America; Francisco Fagoaga, son of the first Marquis of Apartado, substitute deputy from Mexico to the Cortes in 1820 and 1821, in whose home in Spain the Mexican liberals, led by Ramos Arizpe, had their meeting place, while they drew up plans for a liberal government in the Americas; and Doctor Servando Teresa de Mier, ex-Dominican and fugitive from the Inquisition because of his preference for the political ideas of Rousseau, John Adams, and the Abbé Raynal, and one of the small company who planned the Spanish liberal movement in Cadiz in 1810.

The best known to his contemporaries of the junta members was the journalist, politician, and historian, Carlos María de Bustamante, who became a revolutionist under Morelos, was the editor of several political journals, and the author of numerous books on Mexican history, defense of the frontiers, and other colonial matters, and essays on government. His two-volume manuscript book, "Medidas para la Pacificación de la América Mexicana," contains an attractive description of the wonders and the resources of Upper California. He was for many years a member of the Mexican Congress, and as such in a position to give steady support to the junta projects, to his death in 1848.

The members with perhaps the best first-hand knowledge of California were José Ignacio Ormaechea, who from 1810 to 1816 was *habilitado general*, that is, general purchasing agent and representative, in Mexico, of the California presidial companies; and Pablo Vicente de Solá, who from 1815 to 1822 was governor of California, serving the last few months under the Mexican regime. Solá's friends in California credited him with being the most influential member of the commission. Certainly his comprehensive reports to the government, available to the other members, and his long term as provincial and territorial governor, qualified him to play a leading role.

Other members presented a wide range of interests and activities. The brothers García Conde were members of the old Spanish aristocracy. Both fought against the insurgents in the wars of independence. Alejo was a field marshal of Spain, and at the time of his capitulation was the commandant general of the Interior Provinces of the West and governor of Sonora. He held high military positions under the empire and again under the republic. His younger brother, Diego, was an engineer of some note, a brigadier-general, attached to whose staff was the young mestizo, Iturbide, later to be Agustín I. Don Tomás Suria, voting secretary of the junta, was a painter and engraver of some note, and a member of the Malaspina scientific expedition of 1789–1794, which explored the California coasts in 1792. Partners in the military conspiracy which placed Iturbide in power were Brigadier General García Conde and Lieutenant Tamariz. Among those who plotted the overthrow of Iturbide were the liberals, Carlos de Bustamante, Doctor Mier, and Manuel Ibarra. Junta members who were signers of the Mexican declaration of independence were Juan Francisco Azcárate, Juan José Espinosa de los Monteros, and Isidro Icaza. Members of Iturbide's provisional government, the first in independent Mexico, were José Almanza, Juan F. Azcárate, Juan J. Espinosa, and Isidro Icaza. Mier and Bustamante were members of the convention of 1824 which gave Mexico its first federal constitution. Espinosa was Minister of Relations during the later sessions of the junta. Tomás Salgado was Minister of Hacienda in 1827. Other members held positions of more or less importance in the government. Most of the members were at one time or another senators or deputies in the Mexican Congress.

It would seem that a government-appointed commission, whose members were distinguished men, many of them officials, whose business it was to prepare executive instructions, legal codes, and articles of incorporation for the approval of the president of the republic and for passage by the Congress, would have a good measure of success, particularly since their work was done during the aggressively formative period of the youthful Mexican nation. Actually, the commission's measures fell far short of the success which was reasonably to be expected.

The Congress, preoccupied with the political and financial problems which were critical in 1827 and grew worse in the five years following, not only failed to pass the legislation recommended by the junta, it did not even enact a general or criminal code for the nation during those years. The Ministry of Relations therefore declared itself forced, in its territorial administration, to fall back upon the instructions drawn up by the Spanish

Cortes for the economic-political administration of provinces. The municipal *ayuntamientos* were also left to operate provisionally under the same codes. As late as 1833, on the eve of the Hijar-Padres colonizing venture, the Minister of Relations was still calling the attention of Congress to the lack of an adequate code for California, and urging the development of that territory.

This did not mean that the efforts of the junta members were wasted. Their influence is seen in the impetus to California development and colonization which culminated in the Hijar-Padres Colony and its affiliate, the Compañía Cosmopolitana, of 1833–34, in the Mexican colonization law of 1828, in the measures taken to secularize the missions, and most directly in the instructions sent to the territory in 1825 with Governor José María Echeandía, and his efforts to interpret and obey those instructions.

The junta had an unmistakable influence upon the mission policy of the new governor. While the Mexican Congress hesitated to enact a general law, or even a formal act which would embody the reforms proposed by the commission, there is little doubt that the central government directed Echeandía to carry out in California the provisions of the *Dictamen*, a copy of which was in his possession, and from which he quoted when it suited his purposes. In close harmony with the junta recommendations were his Loreto proclamation of August 19, 1825, for the reform of the Indian administration in both Californias; and from Upper California, the Indian emancipation decree of July 25, 1826, the secularization act which the governor introduced in the territorial assembly on July 20, 1830, the emergency *reglamento* of January 6, 1831, and the revised and modified secularization plan of November 18, 1832.

The junta influence continued to be seen in the Indian policy of Governor José Figueroa, in his provisional decree of emancipation, July 15, 1833, in the provisional decree of secularization, August 9, 1834, and in the secularization act of the territorial assembly, November 3, 1834. In the meantime, the Mexican Congress passed the secularization act of August 17, 1833, which closely paralleled the junta proposals for secularization and ecclesiastical government.

The junta projects, as a unified program for the development of California, may be said to have died before they were born. The political disturbances of the late eighteen-twenties culminated in the elevation of Santa Anna in a military dictatorship. The financial ineptness of the officials of the new republic, and the failure in 1827 of an English banking house with which the Mexican government was heavily involved, placed the republic in very straitened circumstances. These conditions left little ground for hope that the central government would or could do much for the distant territory. On the other hand, faced with the indifference of the home government and the lack of political experience in the Californians, the governors improvised as best they could from Spanish codes, often using their authority as military governors to further measures which otherwise would have been hopeless. The junta was not forgotten, however. As late as 1844, on the eve of American occupation, Manuel Castañares, the representative from California, reminded his fellow congressmen of the intelligent Indian policy which the commissioners had advocated.

COLLECTION OF THE PRINCIPAL ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE JUNTA THAT WAS APPOINTED TO PROPOSE TO THE SUPREME GOVERNMENT MEASURES NECESSARY FOR DEVELOPMENT AND PROGRESS

[I.] DICTAMEN*

Which the California Junta de Fomento gave to the Most Excellent President of the Republic, that he might express his views as to the instructions to be given the superior political chief of the Territories.

Most Excellent Sir:

That this junta might make clear the opinion you saw fit to ask of it by the supreme order of last December 18 (received on the 22nd), regarding the instructions to be given to the superior political chief who is to govern both Californias, careful consideration has been given to the directives embodied in the chapters so far developed, copies of which have been sent to you.

Although you will see that the instructions touch upon the most essential and interesting points for the improvement of the above mentioned territories, you should not hesitate – in the face of this evidence of the zeal and generous efforts of the supreme government in a project as laudable as it is difficult – to make some changes or additions, if you think it necessary or convenient, so that, with the instructions, the new chief may be able to settle on a permanent plan; while the new laws which must be promised to the peninsula, on the strength of our political constitution, will make the radical changes and reforms that are so necessary to support the external and interior defenses of the country, unstop the springs of its prosperity, and give the greatest possible impetus to everything related to it.

The establishment of the constitutional system in the Californias was delayed to April, 1822, when orders were received there to take the oath in support of independence.[1] It was found already in operation by the rationer of the church of Durango, Don Augustín Fernández de San Vicente, who arrived in September of the same year under commission by the independent national government to look into the matter.[2]

Therefore, since the seventh responsibility, given to the provincial deputation in the newly announced system,[3] is to take the census and compile the provincial statistics, and since the provinces must subsist while awaiting the so-far unannounced laws for their internal administration, under the thirtieth power which, in article 50 of our Constitution, is assigned to the general Congress of the federation,[4] it seems to the junta that the instructions regarding the census and statistical information concerning the Californias should be reduced to the terms of Article 31, Chapter 3, of the instructions for the economic-political government of the provinces,[5] the superior government in good time giving to the new governor suitable instructions as to the matters to be included in the statistical plan.

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* This document and those which were printed after it on the subject of the aforementioned territories were found among the papers of the executrix of His Excellency Don José Mariano Almanza.

Concerning the location, climate, products, inhabitants, and other physical factors in the Californias, there are descriptions, both ancient and modern. They are given by all the historians referred to by Father Miguel Venegas of the Company of Jesus,[6] the same ecclesiastic who prepared the story of California printed in 1788, and which J. Ponchet printed in his *Universal Dictionary of Commercial Geography* in the year 7 of the French Republic;[7] they are added to the story of the voyage of the schooners "Sutil" and "Mexicana" in the year 1792, printed in 1802 by order of the King of Spain;[8] and are retold by Baron Humboldt[9] in his political essay on New Spain, printed in Madrid in 1818 from the French edition.

It might be supposed that the new chief would be sufficiently enlightened by these accounts of the country he is going to govern; at the same time, however, he should be sent instructions which not merely reproduce the old accounts, but verify, ratify and perfect them.

It is therefore important to bear in mind that although they form one peninsula, a distinction exists between the territories of upper and lower California, which is sanctioned politically by our Constitution in Article 5;[10] and this distinction must be considered in getting true and certain knowledge of the quality of the lands, the heathen nations or tribes which inhabit them, their characteristics, and the products which are native or adaptable to each territory.

From the geographical position of the region, the climate ought to be excellent; but its extent includes great variation. It seems that the Jesuits, who alone were established in lower California, although they took the trouble to study the country thoroughly, led the Spanish government to suspect them of carefully fostering an unfavorable idea of the climate and land. Certain it is that until the modern description by Baron Humboldt, it has been generally understood, from olden times and because of what the Jesuits wrote, that old California could never support a large population by reason of its aridity and the scarcity of water and arable land noted in the interior of the country; whereas, on the contrary, the junta understands that the land of lower California is suitable and even excellent for the production in considerable volume of cacao, coffee, sugar, and other things.

The junta fears there is also misunderstanding as to the natives of the country, their characteristics and capacities. Since the missionaries have been the sole channel of information concerning the California interior, almost none of the information they have concerning the nations and tribes there has come out of their establishments. Father Venegas supposes that in lower California there are three nations distinguished from each other by their languages, *the Pericues*, the *Monguir*, and the *Cochinier*, divided again by their dialects.[11] Of the language groups of the *Chinier* or *Laimones*, who seem to be farther north, he confesses that the limits of their lands are not recorded, and that the nations are practically unknown who inhabit the Colorado River valley, the vicinity of the ports of Monterey and Cape Mendocino, and the rest of the coast line.[12] In the regulations drawn up for the Californias in the year 1779, it was said that the width of the land had not been discovered, but that it extended for thousands of leagues with innumerable heathen on it; [13] and in the more modern narratives it is merely stated that the northern part of California is inhabited by two nations called *Roumseu* or *Runsieu*, and *Eseclem* or *Esleu*.[14]

While it may be important to ascertain the number of nations or tribes inhabiting the Californias, this should not be overrated; it is more important to know their characteristics and their natural dispositions. Father Venegas has the reputation of being too severe a critic of the Americans in general; it must be recognized that it is very difficult for those with preconceived notions derived from European civilization to form impartial ideas as to the character and government, so-called, of a people among whom the division and ownership of lands is unknown.[15] The distrust with which the narratives should be viewed on this point is well demonstrated by the inexactness, even inconsistency, with which the authors of the narrative of the voyage of the schooners "Sutil" and "Mexicana" attribute to the *Esleu* and *Rumsieu* nations the same characteristics as those of the coastal Californias of the South Sea.[16]

In addition to these matters, it is very interesting to consider the islands which are found in large numbers both off the interior and outside coasts of the Californias. The Jesuits are said to have had settlements on some of them; and as all are points which are related to the peninsula, they should be studied with care.

Although the record of the discoveries made in 1602 by Captain Sebastián Vizcaíno makes known the outside coast of the Californias, with the adjacent islands, ports, bays and channels,[17] and it was according to these discoveries that the coasts were placed on a geographical map of North America by Don José Antonio Alzate,[18] the junta recognizes the necessity of preparing an exact and detailed description of the Californias whose interior coasts are not so well known. It has taken the first steps to begin this important work, and is forwarding the description which now comes to the notice of Your Excellency, asking that it may be returned for the continuation of our labors, which include a careful examination of the missions of both Californias. The charge and instructions to the new chief should be enlarged to include this.

All the items in the report intended to arrest the interference of the missionaries with the temporal affairs of the missions, the bad treatment given the neophytes and the influence this treatment has to prevent the conversion of the heathen, the opposition of these same ministers to the formation of rural settlements and the distribution of lands, merit, in the minds of the junta, the most complete clarification and exposure. Upon his arrival in the country, the new chief will of necessity be confronted by the system established by the regulations of the Spanish government for the subjugation of the heathen,[19] a system necessarily economic and coordinated in pursuit of its ends, in which the part played by the missions is closely related to other parts, all forming one united whole.

Consequently, he will find the missionaries in possession of the influence and temporal inheritance given them by the system itself. He will discover the opposition and impediments with which the missionaries will resist the dismemberment of the missions, which now constitute true communities, although they are more religious than political. Sometimes he will find that a missionary will treat the neophytes harshly because he lacks the patience and gentleness needed in his difficult ministry. Only rarely, perhaps, is one found with a natural inclination to be cruel, who by such conduct will drive a heathen to become a fugitive, or will drive away from the Indian villages a person who was disposed to enter the pale of the church; this is truly not common. On the other hand, it cannot be said (in a sense applying to the Californias) that the treatment of the catechumens is so good as to justify the conclusion that the runaway gentiles will, of their own accord, return to the missions to be converted.

All these circumstances certainly must be disruptive of the natural habits of the natives: the occupation of their lands which will inevitably continue; the abrupt increase of burdens not preceded by a liberal social compact; the necessary change in beliefs; new patterns of living, with strict observance demanded; the stern prohibition of their old and accustomed ways; subjection to a monastic life entirely painful and austere, without any of the compensations which come to those who follow it as a profession; compulsory work as farmers, or perhaps in other lines even more painful and repugnant to their natural independence; the contrast of their treatment and the consideration shown them as compared to that shown the rest of the population of other classes. And all this in disproportionate exchange for certain crude and sordid wants, which are in fact absolutely contemptible and even deserving of pity in the eyes of some civilized men, and which must be much less of an incentive to those who are considered stupid because of their attachment to their natural liberty.

The argument need not be carried to the point of exhaustion. The man who has grown up in a state of savagery and has endured it will of his own accord leave it,[20] either because of self interest, when he sees his personal safety threatened or destroyed in war with enemy tribes, or because the manner in which he must provide for himself is sometimes difficult, or because trade and commercial intercourse serve to soften his mores and bring him into knowledge of the most useful things of life, showing him how to acquire and possess them, or because the influence of the divine word penetrates his heart and moves him to conformity; and this will certainly be the least natural, since it can only be a particular work of grace.

If then he is to act in a manner which will be efficient and fruitful of results in bringing the heathen into obedience, the new chief of the Californias needs the most positive instructions to direct him, while a beneficent and wise law drastically reforms the system set up by the Spanish regulations, to the end that he may carry forward the preparation for reform and exercise the skill which it demands. Therefore the junta believes it to be very important that the chief shall take into account that the mass of the population is heterogeneous and is composed of three parts demanding separate treatment; that is to say: the inhabitants and settlers known as *gente de razón*, who are certainly the least in numbers; those who are old Christians and those who have been Christians for a long time, but are still neophytes or catechumens; and the heathen nations or tribes.[21] With respect to the first, and even to the natives who are old Christians or who have been Christians for a long time, the constitutional laws are going to be adapted in such a way as to leave them dependent on the missionaries only in their role of parish priests.[22] With respect to the neophytes and catechumens who are, as one might say, at the door of society, it will be necessary for them to fit themselves into the mission system until a more suitable one is established; but with respect to the heathen nations or tribes, the junta reserves judgment until it will have occasion to explain its project for the administration of the California missions and their funds, which was one of the objectives committed to it at the time it was set up. It is of the opinion that the political chief who takes charge must be required to follow the peaceful principles of Title 10 of the previously cited regulation of 1779 in his dealings with friendly or neutral heathen,[23] in order that methods can be adapted looking toward the successful attainment of communication with the tribes, attracting them by friendly relations and trade, making use of every occasion which presents itself, through intertribal wars or other calamities that may oblige them to seek the protection of our establishments, and giving them shelter and aid, so that they will be led, when they have been returned to their villages, to permit the establishment of nearby settlements of converts. We should also seek to discover if any of the larger nations or tribes have some of the first principles of civilization, like those observed among the inhabitants along the Santa Barbara Channel, and if they are subject to chiefs to whom visits or messages, prepared with the greatest care, can be directed, in order to establish the desired relations. And finally, he should strive to discover if these means can benefit both the California interior and the other side of the Colorado River.

The chapter of the instructions dealing with the distribution of lands has given the junta matter for reflection which must not be passed over in silence. Title 14 of the Spanish regulations, referred to above, explains clearly the purpose of promoting settlement, not only by the proportional distribution of lands but also by means of the conditions therein laid down, as well as by other measures for development revealed in the same regulations.[24] Everything done in consequence of these regulations should be recorded in the book of census authorized in Article 17.[25] Our colonization law [26] is directed to the invitation of foreigners, although declaring that Mexican citizens shall have the rightful preference. It has for its subject the national domain that is now without definite ownership, namely, those lands which belong neither to a corporation nor to a town and can therefore be colonized. Nevertheless it declares that, without previous approval, lands cannot be colonized which lie within twenty leagues of the borders of any foreign nation or within ten leagues of the shoreline. With the greatest prudence, the supreme general executive power also ordered that the State congresses should draw up, as soon as possible, colonial regulations for their respective jurisdictions, making them conform in every detail to the constitutional act, the general Constitution, and the rules laid down in the same law.[27] This being done it recommended that, without prejudice to its objectives, the government should take whatever precautionary measures it found suitable for the security of the federation respecting strangers who might come to colonize.[28]

The same law has ordered the government to proceed, according to the principles laid down in it, to colonize the territories of the republic,[29] that the law may be put into effect in whatever territories it ought to operate; and it is absolutely necessary that it be put into operation. Some regulation should be drawn up with reference to particular circumstances in each territory, one which would determine the conditions and obligations according to which the lands should be distributed, in order that from this might come the desired results in settlement and cultivation, and in order that the introduction of colonists may not be injurious to the natives. In the Californias there are very peculiar circumstances which make the regulations more necessary: (1) the existence of a former set of rules, the consequences of which will be perpetuated unless some power alters them and conforms them to a new system of land division; (2) in the Californias the width of land occupied by the Mexican republic varies greatly, stretching to ten leagues in upper California where the land is understood to be fertile, beautiful and picturesque – perhaps, in one of the most distant missions, it may extend to fifteen leagues, and there it is supposed that colonization by foreigners is not to be permitted; (3) in those localities in the interior of lower California where it is said to be necessary to forestall the spirit of invasion into lands occupied by the heathen tribes or nations, the unrest which would follow their dislodgment would bring no advantage to the natives nor to the republic, and friendly social relations should therefore be sought immediately; and (4) it should not be forgotten that the missions, which have completely occupied the whole land, were founded and took possession before the conversion and subjugation of the heathen, under the harsh law of discovery, whereby the cross and the flag were planted at the same time; nor should it be forgotten that the missions have chosen for their sites the villages of the heathen, the very places which they as the experienced masters of the land had selected, because of convenience and nearness to the rivers and springs, to be their places of meeting and habitation. Neither should it be forgotten that while the California heathen have not known the law of ownership of real property, according to the principles of the laws of the nations, they cannot for this reason be denied the right they have to the soil on which they were born; and it should be the first and inescapable step toward civilizing them to give them to understand and recommend to them the value of that land; and in this spirit the Christian Indians themselves, the old Christians, the neophytes and the catechumens, should see themselves favored in the distribution which should be arranged between them and the settlers, in proportions suited to their respective and peculiar circumstances, since it will be necessary for catechumens, and those who are strictly neophytes, to be directed by the civilized element that they be continued in community life. Finally, the distribution of property being so significant a work that, if errors are made, they are not easily rectified afterwards, therefore all arbitrariness affecting those who have the will and the capacity for farming should be forestalled; because a society of farmers will never be formed if we imagine that every man who wants land has only to ask for it and scratch it a little in order for it to produce immediately, and daily thereafter, whatever he needs for his living and that of his family.

It is the opinion of the junta that the instruction to be given the new chief on this point should be confined to that which has been the practice under the Spanish regulations,[30] that is: under what circumstances the distribution of lands shall take place; who are to occupy the missions; are there vacant lands, and if so what is their quality and extent; how many persons among the settlers or Indians have the ability in themselves to cultivate the soil; and in case there are some who undoubtedly have the capacity, let it be so arranged that from the common lands of the missions to which they respectively belong, and without prejudice to the care which the mission must have for the support of the neophytes and catechumens, they shall have assigned to them a suitable amount of land for cultivation, with the caution that they must render an exact report to this supreme government in order to obtain its consent, and leaving to it the regulations which are to be made regarding the conditions and obligations to which land distribution shall be subject.

Of the greatest importance are the chapters in the instructions that have to do with the care and vigilance which the California chief must exercise to prevent the immigration of foreigners. The last governor of California, who is a member of the junta, states that he sent to the Spanish vice-royalty his complaints concerning the Russian establishment at the port of Bodega. These complaints can undoubtedly be found among the archives of the secretariat of the vice-royalty, or among the papers which have been taken from it.[31] Furthermore, the junta considers it necessary to clarify the chapters which charge the new chief, if he is told that the Anglo-Americans have come down the Columbia River, with the duty of guarding religiously the boundaries as set by the treaty of February 22, 1819, and to impress on the people of the Californias and the colonies that the boundary line shall not pass 42 degrees.[32] The Columbia River is located at 46 degrees and 16 minutes of latitude. The junta also understands that the 42-degree boundary line was established in a treaty announced by the Spanish government, when the national independent government of Mexico was already in existence. The junta does not know if our government has authorized and acknowledged that treaty, or if it is a matter still depending on ministerial negotiations and therefore excluded from this discussion; in any case, it has to do with a difference of four degrees.[33] Furthermore, in the memorandum presented on February 22, 1822, to the supreme constitutional Congress by the then minister of Marine and War, Don Antonio Medina, it is noted that the northern coast of upper California along the great northern sea still extends to 49 degrees, 16 minutes of latitude.[34] Whether we take the boundary line or go farther up, it is always necessary to remember that from 42 degrees the distance is a scant 5 degrees to the port of San Francisco, which is located at 37 degrees and 50 minutes of latitude, and is almost the most distant point we occupy, being the most distant in which there is a presidio. All the way from that port to 42 degrees, and from there up to the Columbia River, is inhabited by numerous unsubdued heathen. It is therefore accessible to anyone who wishes to approach the coasts for the purpose of negotiating with the tribes who inhabit them; and even to found settlements with their consent. Complaints, when not supported with an effective force, are fruitless and are held in contempt even among friendly powers who keep the peace. Therefore, vigilance and care should be increased and forces should be located on the sea or at whatever point on the coast they can best reach and defend the borders. The junta will not linger on the consideration of the importance of this chapter, because the urge that foreigners have to occupy the coasts of California is well known,[35] particularly in the case of the Russians, who, having extended their empire to the northernmost limits of Asia on the Southern Sea, would be able to step over our borders. With this situation as a motive, the junta repeats the warning it has just given, that it is necessary to know well the heathen nations or tribes located along the peninsula and its coasts, to ascertain their disposition or inclination as to intercourse and commerce and regarding the means of establishing friendly relations with them, in order that we may avoid the necessity of using force in the occupation of those lands where we may need to establish some of our military forces for the defense of our positions.

The junta also takes occasion in these chapters to recommend to Your Excellency the importance of putting on its feet the weak department of marine established by the regulations of 1779,[36] in order that it may be worthy of the name and capable of accomplishing something. Since the time of Philip V,[37] California's need of some sort of a marine has been recognized for the sake of its internal prosperity, as well as because of the rapid progress the Californians have made with the scant help given by that monarchy.

Development now of the exportation of fruit and the other products of the Californias should also be recommended in the instructions, but this result cannot be obtained without shipping. Guarding and defending the coasts along their great extent to the boundary line demand an adequate land force; but considering the geographical position of the Californias, and that this land alone has an extent equal to that of England,[38] it does not seem a delirious dream to consider it destined by nature to have a fortune on the sea equal to that of Mexico. It is now necessary, as Don Lucas Alamán, Minister of Interior and Foreign Relations, said in his memorandum to the second sovereign constitutional Congress, that we begin to see with greater interest than ever before the vast and fertile peninsula of the Californias.[39] Congress and the government must focus their attention on the rich commerce of which it should one day be the center, by reason of the volume and excellence of its agricultural products and the help it can give toward the attainment of a national merchant marine.[40]

The most weighty points of the instructions having been reviewed by the junta, it will not stop for details, since it can rely on the judgment of the chief to whom will be entrusted that responsibility, recommending to him the observance of the existing laws to which he must adjust himself in the exercise of his authority, while the sovereign general Congress of the federation uses its own powers respecting the territory in question in order to organize its internal administration.

The superior insight of Your Excellency will give the final decision as to what you consider suitable.

Mexico, January 3, 1825.

[II.] PLAN

For the Administration of the Missions in the Territories of Upper and Lower California Proposed by the Junta de Fomento of that Peninsula.

Most Excellent Sir:

One of the subjects, which the superior order of the 17th of July of last year recommended for early consideration by this junta, was that of the administration of the missions of the Californias, to the end that the civilizing of the Indians might be accomplished with less cost by giving them property from the public domain.

In the several sessions in which the junta sat in judgment, examining the summaries of the respective acts, it has heard, considered, and discussed the project which its first committee[41] developed covering this very serious question.

Following with this committee the steps in the history of the peninsula, the junta has recognized that the region owes the beginning of its political existence to the missions, that the missions provided its first government and have always been linked with its older forms of administration, and that in every case the system adopted for the missions will form a very essential part of that which will have to be established for the prosperity and development of those territories.

The discoveries made along the coasts of the California peninsula from 1532, onward, were in fact very early, but until the end of 1697, when they were verified by the first appearance of Father Juan María de Salvatierra of the Company of Jesus, all attempts to occupy the land had proved futile.

As this penetration and occupation had the nature and name of a spiritual conquest, the government which was established in the first reductions was a mixture of the monastic and the military. The missionaries solicited authority to bring in soldiers to guard them (which was done with such zeal that the guard's services were said to have been like actual war), to choose the commander of these troops, to remove him by giving notice to the viceroy, and to elect justices to govern the country; and all this was granted them without any conditions being imposed, except that they were to bear the costs and would take possession of their conquest in the name of the king.[42]

As a result of this capitulation, the ordinary legal authority, the military and ecclesiastical powers, and the control of the regular orders were combined in such a way as greatly to exceed the power exercised by the superior government. The captain of the presidio was the chief magistrate, with full jurisdiction in civil and political matters. He had the authority to try all kinds of cases and to carry them through to a definitive sentence, which he then executed. In military matters he was a captain general not only in the interior lands and on the coasts but also on the sea, with complete jurisdiction over the barkentines which traded in the gulf. He made himself supervisor of the pearl fisheries, and within certain limits this jurisdiction was shared by each soldier of the missionary guard. The captain and the soldiers, however, were under the authority of the pious president of the missions, and nothing could be done without his direction and command.

The *cédula* of Philip V, November 18, 1744, repeated December 4, 1747,[43] reaffirmed this authority with greater emphasis, since it ordered that the soldiers, as well as the officers of the guard units, should be under the orders of the Jesuit missionaries and could not take action against rebellious Indians nor punish them, nor do anything except as the members of the order commanded them; and, in order that their subjection might be more certain, the pay for the garrisons was delivered to the missionaries – the treasury at that time still giving assistance – so that the latter could distribute it by their own hands, and if any soldier had bad habits or disturbed the peace, the missionaries could send him away and ask for another.

Upon the expulsion of the Jesuits on June 25, 1762 (*sic*)[44] the Viceroy Marquis de Croix recommended twelve missionaries of the College of San Fernando of this capital city, who were already established in old or lower California, thinking that secular priests could take charge of the four missions which were most advanced; [45] but this plan never went into effect because of the lack of priests to serve the four parishes. Confirmation being received of the occupation of the port of Monterey and the establishment of its presidio, the planting of the capital of new or upper California was begun, leaving the Fernandinos in the new missions of the north, and placing those in old or lower California under the care of the Dominicans.[46]

The same order and government was prescribed for the new missions as had been observed in those of the Sierra Gorda,[47] which, from the first, included the remarkable arrangement that the missionaries were put in charge of the administration of the temporalities,[48] although on other points, such as the political and military government of the reductions and the presidios, the system followed by the Jesuits to the time of their expulsion had been changed. For the rest, a regime was adopted similar to the present one, from the regulations of September 10, 1772, for the frontier presidios.[49]

Later, the provisional regulations were ordered changed by a royal order of March 21, 1775, which was done on June 1, 1779, and approved by the King on October 24, 1781. This regulation [50] is the one which has been in effect up to the present time; and in it are seen tangible preparations which demonstrate clearly the plan to seize the settlements of the heathen natives throughout the length of the land and to occupy them by means of missions and presidios, without changing in any way the regular course and internal regimen of the missions and the management of the neophytes and catechumens dependent on them.

The junta is not unaware that the Spanish system of discovery and spiritual conquest was fruitful, nor unmindful of the progress made by the Jesuit missions in old California and later in new California by the Fernandinos.[51] It knows that these establishments have merited consideration and praise, not only from Spaniards, but also from enlightened foreigners. It has taken into account all the arguments ordinarily used in defense of the system to show it to be not only just and suitable, but absolutely necessary.

However, the junta has not been able to reconcile the principles of that system with those of our independence and our political Constitution and with the true spirit of the gospel. Religion, according to the system, had no weight except that of authority and could not be propagated without the protection of guards and forts. The heathen had to renounce all the privileges of their natural independence in order to become catechumens. From the moment they presented themselves asking for baptism, they had to submit to rules which were almost monastic. At the same time their pastors decided that this occupation excused them from the rules which forbade their mixing in temporal business, and the neophytes had to go on in this way without hope of fully possessing the civil rights of society.

The junta has not been able to convince itself that the system is the only one capable of fostering among the heathen a desire for civilized social living and of teaching them the power to bring it to perfection. The junta believes, instead, that the system is positively contrary to the political ends to which it should be made to conform, and even more contrary to the true spiritual objective it should represent.

The conversion of the numerous heathen who occupy the territories of the Californias is truly an object worthy of the attention of a nation, which has made profession in its political Constitution of the Apostolic Roman Catholic religion,[52] but this religion should not be promulgated nor propagated in any other form than that which Jesus Christ prescribed for his disciples and which they practiced. Furthermore, the holy and laudable ministry of converting infidels should not be limited to ecclesiastics of a certain religious order. The military power should not be used directly or indirectly for this purpose, but on the contrary, should be used for the protection of the country, to defend it from attachment from within or without, and to maintain order.

Because the Californians are easily managed, friendly, docile and indolent, the use of the military power for their subjugation is not often necessary.[53] But if their stupidity, devotion to rustic life, and distaste for work are as great as we have been led to believe, then it may be reasonable to conclude that if the missionaries have succeeded when they have subjected a large number of those heathen to their monastic habits and to a system of tutelage and communal living, which separates them from an active and strenuous life and makes them aliens among the other classes of society – as are the institutions through which they are educated; then they should be more effectively drawn to a social and civilized way of life by friendly relations adapted to them, by the increase of needs and wants which will of necessity be communicated to them, and by more gentle treatment on the part of those assigned to subjugate them.

The condition in which the missions are actually found does not correspond to the great progress which they made in the beginning.[54] This decline is very noticeable in those of lower California, and is sufficient to demonstrate that the system needs change and reformation. In the minds of the junta members the fact is inescapable that among the matters needing reform is the lack of attention of the missionaries to their essential ministry, while occupying themselves with the temporalities of each mission and its administration and government, because, besides being injurious to their goal and principal objective, this cannot be done without a noticeable relaxing of the vows which the sons of St. Francis profess, and without opposing the spirit and the letter of the Bull of Urban VIII, of February 22, 1633, which admonished missionaries of the religious orders to refrain from everything which had to do with business, trade, or the coveting of temporal goods.[55]

Nevertheless, the junta has reached the logical conclusion that the very backwardness of the neophytes of the missions, as to their religious and civic education, demands that it proceed with prudence and circumspection. Therefore, it has thought it necessary to have the missions themselves continue, but in a changed state, and to continue the priests who are in charge, allowing them the powers of spiritual administration that were given them in the apostolic brief [56] of the Holy Pontiff Pius V, March 24, 1567, repeated in municipal law [57] Number 47, Title 14, Book I, and confirmed by Gregory XIV, September 16, 1551 (*sic*), the previously cited [58] Bull of Urban VIII, of February 22, 1633, conforming. Meanwhile the missions should be put on a parochial basis under the diocesan prelate of Sonora,[59] according to the disposition made in the Bull of Innocent XI, May 8, 1682, by which the seminaries of the missionaries are regulated.[60]

For the same reason, although the junta believes the government should reassume the administration of the temporalities of the missions, it thinks that for the present and before the government puts a hand on them, it is imperative that it proceed by whatever means may be most suitable to establish a good administration and provide for the better agricultural development of the lands of the missions, and to prevent any harm to the livelihood and government of the neophytes, preparing them, so that as soon as it is seen that they are ready to govern themselves, they may be given property rights adequate for their needs.

The junta summarizes its instructions for the administration of the missions in the following propositions:

Article 1. That the missions of the Californias among the heathen should in the course of time, through visitation and the sending in of members of the religious orders and the clergy, find themselves able to exercise their ministry in the apostolic manner, giving notice to the government and obtaining its permission, in which case it will assist them with the missionary stipend and traveling expenses, apportioned to them from the Pious Fund of the California missions.

Article 2. That the administration of the Pious Fund [61] shall be directly and exclusively under the supervision of the supreme government, as shall the authorization of the services of the ecclesiastics who plan to visit and establish contacts with the heathen in order to preach the gospel to them, and the appropriation of the stipends and traveling expenses given as alms. And without conflict with the other, the territorial government of the Californias shall take note of the places where it may be convenient to visit and establish contacts, in order to designate those it considers most suitable. It may also propose, from among ecclesiastics already in the Californias, those best suited to this ministry among those who ask to stay.

Article 3. That the function of evangelist shall not be limited to the members of the established religious orders, and that to all who evangelize, in the form specified in the first of these propositions, shall be freely offered the hospitality of the houses or churches of the orders already established in the country.

Article 4. That in the changing over of the missions, the brothers who now have them should continue as parish priests.* [62]

Article 5. That in order to avoid the establishment of fees, obventions, and all contributions which make the spiritual ministrations burdensome to the people, aid is to be given to the missionaries of all those churches, in the form of stipends and travel funds, charged against the account of the afore-mentioned Pious Fund.

Article 6. That in each of the missions there shall be two members of the religious orders, allowing for the fact that on the heathen frontiers missionaries assigned to visit or settle in these lands may die and rest from their labors.

Article 7. That although it may become convenient to confine the missions to a small district, care should be taken that in each one as they are established in succession, there shall be two missionaries in so far as is permitted by the Pious Fund for the establishment of missions, reducing the number to one when the fund is insufficient and the district and people do not object.

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* Contained in the law of May 10, 1827.

Article 8. That they continue in this way until the erection and formal division of parishes or until the time to surrender them to a diocesan prelate,[63] according to the Bull of Innocent XI by which the mission seminaries are regulated.

Article 9. That the government shall reassume the administration of the temporalities of the missions, passing suitable regulations for this purpose, so that the cultivation of the soil will not decline and all possible progress will be made, and the neophytes will experience no loss; and so that when they are found ready for self-government lands may be distributed to them.

Article 10. That the government shall take suitable steps to safeguard the property and persons of the inhabitants of the territories of California from all attacks from within and without, disbanding as such the garrisons peculiar to the missions.

Article 11. That for the revision of the municipal laws now in force but contrary to the propositions agreed upon, it seems the only thing to do to appeal to the general Congress of the federation for the authorization of the needed legislative changes.

This is what the junta has agreed should be laid before the supreme government on the subject in question, which it hopes Your Excellency, if you please, will call to the attention of the Most Excellent President of the United Mexican States, so that if the ninth proposition should merit his exalted approval, he may offer to entrust to the commission the preparation of the regulations spoken of in it.

God and Liberty. Mexico, April 6, 1825.

Juan José Espinosa de los Monteros, Licenciate Carlos María de Bustamante, Pablo Vicente de Solá, Tomás Suria, Tomás Salgado, Licenciate Mariano Domínguez, José Mariano Almanza, Manuel Gonzales de Ibarra, José Ignacio Ormaechea, Francisco de Paula Tamariz,

His Excellency the Minister of Relations, Don Lucas Alamán.

Mexico, 1827.

[III.] PLAN

For Colonization by Foreigners in the Territories of Upper and Lower California Proposed by the Junta de Fomento of the Peninsula by Special Order of the Government.

REGULATIONS by which the colonization of the territories of both the Californias is to be controlled, in harmony with the law of August 18, 1824,[64] the regulations having been drawn up by the Junta de Fomento, by an order dated April 5, 1825, of the superior government.

Article 1. In the lands of upper California, the part designated for the purposes of this act is that which is held and actually occupied by the republic, and that which is possessed, occupied or inhabited by the heathen natives.

Article 2. The lands actually used by the missions shall be considered as described in Article 2 of the colonization law of August 18, 1824,[65] and shall be considered the property of the communities of neophytes, catechumens, and the Mexican settlers, and closed to disposal other than among themselves.

Article 3. In order to permit colonization by foreigners in the part occupied by the republic, the previous approval of the supreme general executive power will be needed, since the land can under no circumstances remain free if the disposal, provided for in the preceding article, is extended to foreigners with respect to the shores and boundaries designated in Article 4 of the afore-mentioned law of colonization,[66] which must be scrupulously observed in the territories of both Californias, with respect to the outside coasts as well as the inner boundaries, and on the frontiers of the native tribes or nations.

Article 4. The supreme general executive power alone shall have authority to approve, for distribution to foreigners, the lands which are absolutely known to be vacant, in the part occupied by the republic, whether the said strangers are capitalists or agricultural workers.

Article 5. Every foreigner who shall profess the Apostolic Roman Catholic religion, and shall agree to settle in the territory of California, shall so declare before the council of the town he has chosen for residence or as his municipal authority, as established by the organic law of the territories.

Article 6. In a book designated for the purpose he shall inscribe his name and those of the members of his family, if he has one, with a statement of his nationality, state, and office, and after the date of this entry he shall be accepted as an inhabitant, and the time hastened when he shall receive the certificate of citizenship and naturalization.

Article 7. The order to assign to a foreigner lands which are known to be absolutely vacant, in the part occupied by the republic, shall be limited to the lands designated in Articles 3 and 4, and in such a case he shall begin to count from the day on which he conforms to the provisions of Article 5 and settles in some town, and in other matters submits to the means and forms established by law.

Article 8. The agreements which foreigners will be permitted to make concerning one or more new settlements must be in harmony with the principles laid down in the preceding articles, as provided for Mexican settlers.* [67]

Article 9. The extent of land which may be adjudicated to foreigners in the California territories, in accordance with the provisions of the preceding articles, shall not be more than that allowed in Article 12 of the law of colonization previously cited.[68]

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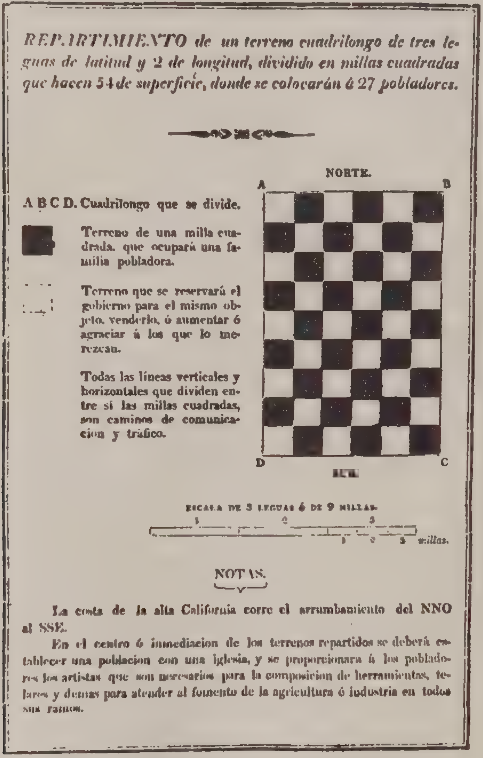
* See the regulations of May 30, 1825.

Article 10. The minimum allotment of land for colonization shall be 200 *varas* long and of equal width.[69] The same proportion applies to lands dependent on the seasons and those for raising cattle.

Article 11. House lots shall be 100 *varas* on a side.

Article 12. The first distribution of land shall conform to the accompanying model, so that between the allotments there shall be assigned lots of a square *milla*, or of 1666 2/3 *varas*, which is the same thing, and these lots will remain the property of the republic.[70]



REPARTIMIENTO de un terreno cuadrilongo de tres leguas de latitud y 2 de longitud, dividido en millas cuadradas que hacen 54 de superficie, donde se colocarán á 27 pobladores.

A B C D. Cuadrilongo que se divide.

■ Terreno de una milla cuadrada, que ocupará una familia pobladora.

⬚ Terreno que se reservará el gobierno para el mismo objeto, venderlo, ó aumentar ó agraciar á los que lo merezcan.

Todas las líneas verticales y horizontales que dividen entre sí las millas cuadradas, son caminos de comunicacion y tráfico.

NOTAS.

La costa de la alta California corre el arrumbamiento del NNO al SSE.

En el centro ó inmediacion de los terrenos repartidos se deberá establecer una poblacion con una iglesia, y se proporcionara á los pobladores los artistas que son necesarios para la composicion de herramientas, telares y demas para atender al fomento de la agricultura ó industria en todos sus ramos.

Article 13. The republic shall have the power to sell these lots to the owners of frontier lands, who have applied themselves to the cultivation of their fields and have not received the full extent of land as provided by law, or to the children of the same owners, who solicit them in order to consolidate the family holdings, and to others who, by reason of holding frontier properties, have equal rights in such sales.

Article 14. The republic shall also have the power, in order to encourage settlement, to grant lands free of charge to settlers who are heads of families and have six children.

Article 15. Whenever a grant of land is made, even a very small lot, the limits and boundaries shall be recorded in a book which the municipal government shall keep for that purpose, describing, in the clearest and most unambiguous manner possible, the boundaries which have been fixed with markers of mortar and stone, at the expense of the grantee, in order to forestall future questions which might ruin the families.

Article 16. Each family, which comes of its own accord to settle and to join one of the communities, is to be admitted and have done for it according to the provisions in Article 5.

Article 17. Unmarried men shall also be admitted and granted such lands as may be judged suitable, according to the provisions of Articles 3, 4, and 7.

Article 18. It shall be so arranged that each new settler will cultivate or occupy the land granted to him according to its nature, for a period of three years, counting from the day when he takes possession; and if he does not do so, he shall lose all or part, according to the extent of his failure.

Article 19. Care shall also be taken to prevent the destruction of the forests and to avoid the grave evils which result from the lack of fuel, so that no occasion shall be given for hindering the explicit obligation to cultivate or occupy the lands, by the destruction of the wood in the the woodlands and forests.

Article 20. All land which falls into disuse as described in the preceding article may be denounced as vacant, upon the presentation of legal proof, but not without allowing the first colonist a hearing.

Article 21. Care shall be taken to instruct each new settler in the presence of the municipal authorities, after he has cultivated or occupied the lands granted him according to their nature and object, in order that he may make the required record legalizing and assuring his control of the property so he can dispose of it at will.

Article 22. New lands shall not be passed into hands which in any sense may be considered dead, according to the spirit of Article 13 of the law of colonization.[71]

Article 23. Every new settler is free to leave the country, to dispose of his cultivated or occupied lands, and to take his belongings out with him, only paying the fees which the general or particular laws have determined.

Article 24. Every new settler shall have the power to dispose by will of his cultivated lands or those only granted, his heirs to enjoy the increase and to assume the obligations for which the testator was liable.

Article 25. If a settler dies without a will, the person or persons named by law shall inherit without a will, but they shall also inherit the obligations for which the principal was liable.

Article 26. Every person conforming to the provisions of those regulations and to whom new lands are given, shall be exempt from all taxes [72] on them, whether it be excise or the tenth, for the space of five years, counting from the day he takes possession of the lands assigned him.

Article 27. With respect to the slaves which the new settlers bring in, the decree on this subject promulgated by the general Congress must be obeyed.[73]

Article 28. No foreigner as a private person shall be able to enter, acquire property in land, nor set up commercial relations of any sort with the heathen, without previous permission from the supreme government; and this permission shall be given him according to the rules which the general Congress shall decide upon, in application of the eleventh power given to it under Article 50 of the federal Constitution,[74] after a preliminary examination as to the good which can result from the grant, to the heathen natives as well as to the public safety, Law 4, Title I, Book 4 of the Municipal Laws being still valid on this subject.[75]

Mexico, April 21, 1825.

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. Mexican independence was proclaimed on September 28, 1821 (Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, IV, 735), but was probably not known in California before December (*Provincial Records*, MS., XI, 69-70), and, when first reported, was not believed by Governor Solá (Bancroft, *History of California*, II, 450). Verification came from Mexico in March, 1822. Solá called a junta which met on April 9 and voted to take the oath of allegiance to the new government, which was done on April 11 at Monterey, at Santa Barbara and San Francisco on or about the 13th, and at San Diego on the 20th (*Legislative Records*, MS., I, 1-4; *Provincial Records*, MS., XI, 72).

2. Fernández arrived at Monterey, September 26 (Bancroft, *California*, II, 458). His instructions from the Mexican government were probably similar to those given by Gonzalo Ulloa to Lieutenant José María Narvaez, commanding the barkentine of war, *San Carlos*, in which Fernández sailed. As forwarded by Pedro Celestino Negrete, Captain General of Nueva Galicia, the Fernández instructions were to acquaint the people of both Californias of the happy state of independence in Mexico, to announce the calling of a national Congress and to ask that deputies be elected, to explain the new form of government, and to secure the adherence of the provinces to it ("Instrucciones relativas a la comision de Estado de ambas Californias en el bargantin imperial nombrado *San Carlos*, al mando del teniente de navio D. José María Narvaez," *La Ilustración Mexicana*, II [1851], 164-167.) The detailed report of Fernández was forwarded to the Mexican government on July 9, 1822 (*ibid.*, 167). Details were meagre as to the acts of the commissioner, or his reports to his government, except the report on the missions, which is perhaps the most complete descriptive document extant on the subject (Bancroft, *California*, II, 460; Agustín Fernández de San Vicente, "Quaderno de Estados, e informes de estas misiones de la Alta California del año 1822," in *Archivo de la Misión de Santa Bárbara, Informes y Correspondencia*, MS., III, 227-319).

3. The "newly announced system" was the Spanish constitution of 1812, abolished in 1814, reluctantly restored by Ferdinand VII in 1820, and proclaimed in Mexico by the viceroy Apodaca on May 31 of the same year (Bancroft, *Mexico*, IV, 698). The reference is to Title VI, Chap. II, Art 335, No. 7. For English translations of Spanish constitutions, *vide*, Arnold R. Verduin, trans. and ed., *Manual of Spanish Constitutions, 1808–1931*. Ypsilanti, 1941.

4. Translation in Joseph M. White, *A New Collection of Laws, Charters and Local Ordinances of . . . Great Britain, France and Spain . . . together with the Laws of Mexico and Texas*, I, 387-410.

5. *See* [VI] Initiative Plan of Government for the directions in the code proposed by the junta. The reference is to a decree of the Spanish Cortes, in which it is stated: "The political chief is to see that the statistical information of the province, which he must remit to the government every January, the gathering of which is the responsibility of the provincial deputation, includes all the items required by the government, without failing to add all other information or data which he thinks suitable" (*Colección de los Decretos y Órdenes que han Expedido las Cortes Generales y Extraordinarias*, IV [February 24 to September 13, 1813], Decreto CCLXIX, "Instrucción para el gobierno económico-político de las provincias" [June 13, 1813], 105-126).

6. Miguel Venegas (Andrés Marcos Burrièl, comp.) *Noticia de la California y de su Conquista Temporal y Espiritual, hasta el Tiempo Presente*. 3 Vols. (Vol. I contains the descriptions), Madrid, 1757.

7. The meaning here is not clear, since the publication date of the *Noticia* is incorrect, and bibliography lists have failed to reveal a *Diccionario Universal de la Geografía Comerciante*, edited by J. Ponchet.

8. José Espinosa y Tello, *Relación del viage hecho por las goletas Sutil y Mexicana en el año de 1792*. 3 vols. (one of narrative, one of astronomical data, and one of maps), Madrid, 1802.

9. Alexander de Humboldt, *Essai Politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne*. 2 vols, and atlas, Paris, 1811. An English edition in four volumes was published in London, 1814.

10. Title II, Art. 5, names upper California and lower California as territories of the republic. The general name, California, was at first applied to the (island) peninsula. When Father Kino, in 1700, spoke of "Alta California" from the standpoint of the mouth of the Colorado River, he meant the upper part of the peninsula. After the Portolá expedition and the founding of the first missions, the upper country was known as the "New Establishments" or the "Northern Missions." A few years later, a number of names were applied to the north, such as "California Septentrional," "California del Norte," "California Superior," or "Nueva California." The peninsula was sometimes known as "California Antigua." Gradually "Alta California" and "Baja California," came into common use, although "Nueva California" was the legal name of the upper portion when the provinces were separated in 1804. By the Constitution of 1824 "alta" and "baja" became the official designations (Bancroft, *California*, I, 67, 68).

11. Father Venegas cites Father Taraval as authority for the statement that the peninsular Indians were divided into three language groups, the *Cochimi*, *Pericu* and *Loreto*. The southernmost were the *Pericues* or *Edues*. The Indians around Loreto were called *Monquis*. Farther north were the *Cochimies*, the most northern branch of which were called *Laymones* (Venegas, *Noticia*, I, 64, 65, 66).

12. Almost completely unknown are the tribes between the Colorado River, Monterey and Cape Mendocino. But they are the weakest in mind and body and the most stupid people in the world (*ibid.*, I, 77).

13. Felipe de Neve, *Reglamento para el Gobierno de la Provincia de Californias* (San Francisco, 1929), Title XV, 42, 52.

14. The *Runsienes*, or *Eslenes*, lived in the neighborhood San Carlos (José Espinosa y Tello, *Relación del viage hecho por las goletas Sutil y Mexicana en el año de 1792*, I, 164). A. Humboldt, *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain* (London, 1814), calls them *Rumsen* and *Escelen* (II, 345).

15. Venegas describes the California Indians as exhibiting an amazing languor and lassitude, "their lives fleeing away in a perpetual inactivity, and a detestation of labor (*Noticia*, I, 77). There was no conception among them of possession of either lands or goods (*ibid.*, 79).

16. Like Humboldt and Venegas (*supra*, 296), Espinosa y Tello places the *Runsien* and *Eslen* in northern California. In the Sutil and Mexicana narrative they are placed in the vicinity of Monterey, and are described as ugly, lazy and extremely stupid (Espinosa y Tello, *Relación*, I, 164).

17. The Vizcaíno map was accessible to the junta members in Espinosa y Tello, *Relación*, atlas map No. 4.

18. José Antonio de Alzate y Ramírez, (c) 1735–1790, was a noted geographer and writer on scientific subjects, for whom a Mexican scientific society has been named. His *Nuevo mapa geográphico de la América Septentrional* was probably engraved in Paris and was published in Madrid and Paris, 65 by 54 inches, four sheets, in the year 1768 (Henry R. Wagner, *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800*, II, 339). Humboldt says the map was by Sigüenza y Góngora, but the Academy of Paris (of which Alzate was a member) credited it to Alzate (Humboldt, *Political Essay*, I, lxxv).

19. Perhaps the best compilation of laws governing the Indians under the Spanish regime is the following: Juan de Solórzano Pereira, *Política Indiana*. 2 vols., Madrid, 1776. There are also valuable compilations in English, among them: Joseph M. White, *A New Collection of Laws, Charters and Local Ordinances, of the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Spain*, etc., 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1839; Gustavus Schmidt, *The Civil Law of Spain and Mexico*, New Orleans, 1851.

20. This argument appears to be taken from the Abbé de Raynal, referred to, *infra*, [V]. Book XIX of the abbé's *Histoire Philosophique* is devoted to his political philosophy. In it he states: "... all savages, left to their natural state, were destined to become civilized" (Guillaume Thomas François Raynal, *A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, VI, 227). Padre Mier, a junta member, owned a copy of the French (indexed) edition, published in Paris, 1774 (Juan E. Hernández y Dávalos, *Colección de documentos para la historia de la guerra de independencia de México de 1810 a 1821*, VI, 840).

21. Estimates differ widely as to upper California's population at the time of the junta sessions. However, conservative estimates would seem to be as follows: *gente de razón* in 1824, 3000 (*Departmental Records*, MS., I, 217); Christian Indians, 20,500 in 1820 to about 18,000 in 1830 (Bancroft, *California*, II, 654); gentile Indians in 1823, about 100,800 (Titus Fey Cronise, *The Natural Wealth of California*, 27). The figures on the first two groups check quite closely with those given by Father Guzmán in 1828. He gives 23,105 as the total number of white people and Christian Indians at the mission establishments and towns (José María Guzmán, *Breve Noticia que da al supremo Gobierno*, 1, 2).

22. This was the plan advocated by the anti-clerical party in Mexico (*Memoria* of July 5, 1814, of naval lieutenant Francisco de Paula Tamariz, in *Las Misiones de la Alta California* [Colección de Documentos Históricos, Tomo II], 94-96), and of the California liberals (Mariano G. Vallejo, *Historia de California*, MS., II, 283, 284). It was authorized by Pope Innocent XI, in a bull dated May 8, 1682 (*Vide, infra*, 306).

23. Title 10 deals with the treatment of hostile and apathetic Indians, and counsels patience and benevolence (De Neve, *Reglamento*, 25).

24. Title 14, in 18 articles, provides for the development of California by the settlement of *gente de razón*, for the purpose of holding the valuable province, provisioning the presidios, and reducing the natives. It provides for the financing, provisioning and equipping of the settlers, granting them building lots, farming and pasture lands. It grants exemption from taxes for a period of years, and provides for the setting up of a civil government (De Neve, *Reglamento*, 42-51). This section of the *Reglamento*, dealing with colonization, was considered *vigente*, that is, active or legally in force, to the time of the meeting of the junta (*infra*, [IV]).

25. Article 17 of Title 14 of the *Reglamento*.

26. The colonization regulations submitted by the junta are in two sections, the one providing for colonization by foreign empresarios (*infra*, 308-12), and the other providing for colonization by Mexican nationals (*infra*, [IV]).

27. Article 3, of the Mexican colonization act of August 18, 1824 (Francisco de la Maza, *Código de Colonización y Terrenos Baldíos de la República Mexicana*, 191-193).

28. Article 8, colonization act of August 18, 1824 (Maza, *Código*, 192).

29. Article 16 (*ibid.*, 193).

30. An excellent and comprehensive resumé of the Spanish land laws is found in Maza, *Código*, 1-65. Other good general works are George McCutchen McBride, *The Land Systems of Mexico* (New York, 1923); and Mariano Galván Rivera, *Ordenanzas de Tierras y Aguas*, 5th ed., Mexico, 1855.

31. Pablo Vicente de Solá, California governor, August 15, 1815 to November 22, 1822. Solá, *Informe General al Virey sobre Defensas, 1817*, MS.; and *Observaciones hechas en la Visita de la Provincia desde San Francisco hasta San Diego*, 1818, MS.

32. Article III of the treaty of February 22, 1819, between Spain and the United States, fixed the northwest boundary at 42° from the Pacific Ocean eastward to the Arkansas River. The treaty was ratified by Ferdinand VII on October 24, 1820, and the American ratification was announced on February 22, 1821 (J. Elliot, *The American Diplomatic Code*, I, 415).

33. The Mexican revolution was already in progress, and the Mexican republic did not sign a northwest boundary treaty with the United States until the negotiations of January 12, 1828, produced a new treaty, but with the same boundary line as that of 1819. Ratification of the new treaty was delayed in Mexico to April 5, 1831, and in the United States to April 5, 1832 (*ibid.*, II, 110).

34. Antonio de Medina, *Memoria presentada al Soberano Congreso Mexicano*, 1822. "Noka," at 49° 37′, was the farthest north (*ibid.*, 13).

35. Good summaries of these foreign explorations and aggressions are found in Charles E. Chapman, *A History of California: The Spanish Period*, Chap. XX; and in Eugène Duflot de Mofras, *Travels on the Pacific Coast* (trans., Marguerite E. Wilbur), I, Chap. III.

36. Neve, *Reglamento*, Title II, 10,11.

37. *Infra*, 304, and [VII].

38. This evidently refers to the parts of the Californias developed by the Spaniards and Mexicans. England has an area of 50,328 square miles, the United Kingdom of 94,279. The State of California as now constituted has an area of 158,693 square miles, lower California of 55,633.

39. Lucas Alamán, *Memoria que el Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de Relaciones Esteriores y Interiores Presento al Soberano Congreso Constituyente sobre los Negocios de la Secretaría de su Cargo*, 1823. The statement, partially quoted, to which reference is made, is as follows:

It is necessary to begin to view, with greater interest than has been hitherto done, the vast and fertile peninsula of the Californias; the rich commerce of which it must one day become the center. The number and excellence of its agricultural products; and the aid which it might yield towards the creation of a national marine; and the ambitious views upon it, which some foreign powers manifest, ought to fix the attention of Congress and the government (Alamán, *Memoria*, 32, 33).

An earlier report, and a set of proposals for the development of the Californias, one perhaps overlooked by the junta, was José Martín's *Memorial and Proposals on the Californias*, Mexico, 1822, recently translated into English with an introduction by Henry R. Wagner (San Francisco: the Grabhorn Press, 1945).

40. Humboldt predicted that the maritime provinces of the west would one day possess great political importance. When the coasts became more populous they would send their ships to Nootka, and across the sea to China and the East Indies (Humboldt, *Political Essay*, I, 269). If the white people of upper California would give themselves to agriculture and develop the resources of the country, it would soon become a resting place of the greatest value for the Spanish navigators plying between Mexico, Peru and the Philippines (*ibid.*, II, 348).

41. This first committee appears to be the ten men listed at the end of the mission plan (*infra*, 308).

42. This description, with the one in the following paragraph, follows closely that of Venegas, which was in turn taken from an account by Father Sigismundo Taraval (Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 441). Venegas states that, through the efforts of the visitor-general José de Gálvez, and in spite of opposition from Mexico, Father Salvatierra obtained the following orders: the missionary was empowered to bring soldiers to lower California, to appoint the captain of the guard, subject to the viceroy's approval, to enlist and discharge the soldiers, who were under his orders in all but purely military matters, and to validate the pay certificates. Under the direction of the missionary, the captain would act as both civil and military judge, would be captain-general, not only on the land but also of the coasts and seas, including the shipping, and would superintend the pearl fishing (Venegas, *Noticia*, II, 253-258).

43. The royal *cédula* of Philip V referred to was dated November 13, 1744. It was dispatched to the viceroy, the count of Fuen Clara. The report from Mexico for which it called was sent November 30, 1745, arriving in Madrid after the accession of Ferdinand VI, who confirmed it, December 4, 1747. The *cédula* urged the rapid development of California with settlements of Spaniards from Mexico, and the opening of the Colorado River route to the upper province. It also stated that the pay of the soldiers of the mission companies was to be delivered to the missionaries, so that the soldiers would have to receive it from their hands, "and that if any soldier be of a turbulent disposition and behaves amiss, the missionaries may send him away." The full contents of the royal order is given in Venegas (*Noticia*, II, 501-520). This *cédula* was evidently the last of a series, the first several of which, particularly the comprehensive one dated January 29, 1716, were inspired by Philip's Italian minister, Giulio Alveroni (*vide*, *infra*, [VII]), who was in power from 1715 to 1719 (*ibid.*, II, 288).

44. The order for the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish dominions came from Charles III, February 27, 1767. The order was confirmed in the Pragmatic Sanction of April 2 of the same year, which ordered the sequestration of the properties of the order. It was so arranged that the publication of the Pragmatic Sanction would come at the same time throughout the Spanish dominions, the blow falling at the same time on all the Jesuits. The viceroy in Mexico, the marquis de Croix, on the evening of June 24 opened the sealed orders from Madrid in the presence of the audiencia, the archbishop, and other officials, and on the 25, before dawn, the Jesuits within reach were

arrested. (Bancroft, *Mexico*, III, 432, 433, 437, 439). Texts of the Pragmatic Sanction and the de Croix decree are to be found in Vicente Riva Palacio, *Mexica á través de los Siglos*, II, 840, 841.

45. The de Croix plan is described in Francisco Palou, *Vida de Fray Junipero Serra*, 148. The *Vida* is printed as a supplement to Andrés Cavo, *Los Tres Siglos de México*, edited by Carlos María Bustamante. Substantially the same matter is also found in Father Domingo Rivas, "Paracer formado . . . en repulsa del Informe" (of Tamariz) (*Las Misiones de Alta California*, 164, 165), and "Repuesta del R. P. Guardián Fr. Juan Calzada al Excelentísimo señor Virrey," August 7, 1818 (*ibid.*, 248, 249).

46. The Dominicans, who had entered the peninsula as early as 1768, desired the northern missions of lower California. On April 7, 1772, the representatives of the Franciscan and Dominican orders signed an agreement (*concordato*), by which the entire peninsula was given to the Dominicans, to a point a short distance below San Diego (*The Pious Fund of the Californias* [Foreign Relations of the United States, 1902, Appendix II], 362, 363).

47. The temporal government of the Sierra Gorda missions is described in Palou, *Vida de Fray Junípero Serra*, 137-142.

48. The Franciscans in lower California were not at first given control of the temporalities (Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 484). But when it became apparent to the visitor-general Gálvez that the *comisionado* plan was not working, he issued a decree (August 12, 1768) ordering the commissioners to turn over all mission properties to the friars (*ibid.*, 486).

49. *Reglamento é Instrucción para los Presidios que se han de formar en la línea de frontera de la Nueva España resuelto por el Rey N. S. en cédula de 10 de Septiembre de 1772.* Madrid, 1772, and Mexico, 1773.

50. De Neve, *Reglamento*, Title I, 1; Title XV, 54.

51. This is probably a reference to Father Calzada's defense, August 7, 1818, in which he has collected from Mexican and foreign notables testimonials as to the value of the Franciscan missionary endeavor ("Repuesta," *Las Misiones de Alta California*, 225-230).

52. "The religion of the Mexican nation is and will be perpetually the Apostolic Roman Catholic," *Constitution* of 1824, Title I, Sec. I, Art. 3.

53. Of the many contemporary descriptions of the natives, the ones probably used most extensively by the junta were those of Venegas, Espinosa y Tello, and Humboldt (*vide supra*, Notes 11-12, 14). Outstanding modern studies are those of A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78), Washington, 1925; and S. F. Cook, *The Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization*, 2 vols., Berkeley, 1943.

54. José de Gálvez was disappointed when he saw the condition of the peninsular establishments. He reported small settlements, poorly developed; natives still in a low state of civilization as the greatest evil. Proclamation dated November 23, 1768 (*Archivo Sta. Barbara*, MS., I, 22).

55. Francisco Javier Hernaez, *Colección de Bulas, Breves, y otros Documentos relativos á la Iglesia de América y Filipinas*, I, 865-867.

56. The *breve* in the original Latin is found in Gerónimo Mendieta, *Histórica Eclesiástica Indiana* (Mexico, 1870), 488-491.

57. The Indian Digest, or *Recopilación*, is here referred to as the municipal law, not an uncommon appellation.

58. 1591. Hernaez, *op. cit.*, I, 408.

59. The bishopric of Sonora was authorized by the pope in 1779, and was ordered by a royal *cédula*, dated February 4, 1781. Taken from the old jurisdiction of Durango, the new bishopric included Sonora, Sinaloa, and the Californias, with the episcopal seat at Arizpe (Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 712, 713).

60. The constitution of the colleges of regulars was incorporated in the bull, *Sacrosancti Apostolatus.* The passage reads: "They may remain in charge of souls thus converted to the faith only so long until it shall have pleased the bishop, . . . to assign secular priests to whom he may commit the care of the souls" (Zephyrin Engelhardt, *The Missions and Missionaries of California,* I [Appendix F], 615, 617). *Vide, infra,* 308.

61. There are few writers in the field of California history who do not mention the Pious Fund of the Californias. The best and most convenient collection of documentary materials on the subject, for the general reader, is probably the report of Jackson H. Ralston, agent of the United States and of counsel, in the hearings before the Hague Tribunal in 1902 (*Foreign Relations of the United States,* 1902, Appendix II. Washington, 1903).

62. The law of May 10, 1827 decreed the expulsion of Spaniards from public office in the Mexican government. Art. 2 includes the clergy in the terms of the law, as to their economic, administrative and judicial functions, but Art. 3 permits the government to continue priests, missionaries, and *doctrinaros* of the district and territories of the federation in the exercise of their spiritual functions (Manuel Dublán y José María Lozano, *Legislación Mexicana,* II, 12; Mariano Galván, *Colección de Órdenes y Decretos,* IV, 78). The decree was signed by Tomás Salgado, a member of the junta, who was Minister of Hacienda, March 5 to November 1, 1827 (José María Bocanegra, *Memorias para la Historia de México Independiente, 1822–1846,* I, 558). In a more drastic law of the same year (law of December 20, 1827, Art. 5), the regular clergy was included in the expulsion from office (Galván, *op. cit.,* IV, 131-134). This law was signed by another member of the junta, Juan José Espinosa de los Monteros, who was Minister of Relations, July 6, 1826 to March 7, 1828 (Bocanegra, *op. cit.,* I, 557).

63. *Vide, supra,* Note 60.

64. *Supra,* 299. This was a preliminary statute, consisting of general principles upon which the government was expected to act (Art. 16), and according to which the States were expected to frame their own colonization acts (Art. 3) (Maza, *Código,* 191-193).

65. The objects of this law are those national lands which are neither private property nor belong to any corporation or pueblo, and can therefore be colonized (*ibid.,* 191).

66. Lands lying within twenty leagues of the boundary of any foreign nation, or within ten leagues of the seacoast, cannot be colonized without the previously given approval of the supreme general executive power.

67. *Infra,* [IV], Articles 1-48.

68. The colonization law of August 18, 1824 states: "No one person shall be allowed to obtain the ownership of more than one league square, of five thousand *varas* of irrigable land (*de regadio*), four superficial ones of land dependent on the seasons (*de temporal*), and six superficial ones for the purpose of raising cattle (*de abrevadero*) (Maza, *Código,* 193).

69. The *vara* was the standard Mexican unit of length during the early nineteenth century. It was based on the Castilian *vara* of the mark of Burgos. It is 33.5 inches in length. The square *vara* equals 1122.25 inches, or 7.8 square feet (Mariano Galván Rivera, *Ordenanzas de Tierras y Aguas,* 105-107). Before land was surveyed, a standard *vara* was exhibited and certified by the officer present, after which a fifty-*vara cordel* (*reata*) was measured off, to be used by the surveyors. Lacking a *vara* measure, the surveyors had recourse to the *palmo Castellano,* defined as the distance from the end of the thumb to the end of the little finger, with the hand extended. This is about 209 millimeters, and is equal to ¼ *vara* (*Spanish Archives* [Sacramento, trans.], I, 195).

70. The tracts, called *millas,* of 1666 2/3 *varas* on a side, to be used, according to their

nature, for farming or cattle raising, correspond to the old measure called *criadero de ganado menor*, containing about 481.8 acres. This plan of land distribution was said to have been suggested to the junta by ex-governor Solá (Juan Bautista Alvarado, *Historia de California*, MS., I, 223).

MEXICAN LAND MEASURES *

Vara – 4 *palmos* – 3 *pies* – 36 *pulgadas* – 48 *dedos* – 33.5 inches.
Cordel – 50 *varas*. (Surveyors used a 50 *vara* cord, also called *reata*, or *riata*).
Legua (league) – 100 *cordeles*, or 5000 *varas* (2.6 miles).
Solar – Square; 50 to 100 *varas* on each side, or 2500 to 10,000 square *varas*.
Suerte de tierra – Right-angled parallelogram; 552 *varas* by 276 *varas*, or 152,352 square *varas* (about 26.4 acres), 1/4 *caballeria*. One acre = 5764.88 square *varas*.
Caballería (a grant to cavalrymen) – Right-angled parallelogram; 1104 *varas* by 552 *varas*, or 609,408 square *varas* (about 105.7 acres), divided into halves, quarters, and twelfths.
Peonía (a grant to infantrymen) – Usually 1/5 of a *caballería*.
Fanega de sembradura de maíz – 1/12 *caballería* (7.413-8.8 acres; as much land as could be sowed with a *fanega* of corn). One *fanega* = 2.577 bushels.
Huebra (or *yugada*) – As much land as a yoke of oxen could plow in a day (about 1/2 acre).
Fundo legal para pueblos – Square; 1200 by 1200 *varas*, or 1,440,000 square *varas*.
Sitio de ganado mayor – Square of 5000 *varas* on a side, or 25,000,000 square *varas* (1 square league, 4,336.6 acres).
Criadero de ganado mayor – Square of 2500 *varas* on a side or 6,250,000 square *varas* (1082.3 acres).
Sitio de ganado menor – Square of 3333 1/3 *varas* on a side, or 11,111,111 1/9 square *varas* (1927.4 acres).
Criadero de ganado menor – Square of 1,666 2/3 *varas* on a side, or 2,777,777 7/9 square *varas* (481.8 acres).

* From H. W. Halleck's *Report*, Appendix No. 9, p. 146; Mariano Galván Rivera, *Ordenanzas de Tierras y Aguas*, 105-107, 206-212; George McCutchen McBride, *The Land Systems of Mexico*, 51; *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*, X (1863), 195-252.

71. Colonists are not permitted to transfer their lands in mortmain (Maza, *Código*, 193).

72. Few of the numerous taxes and imposts of the Spanish regime (*vide*, Herbert Ingram Priestley, *José de Gálvez, Visitor-General of New Spain, 1765–1771*, 404-412) were collected in the frontier provinces. The customary frontier monopolies were tobacco, playing-cards, gunpowder and quicksilver (*ibid.*, 267). The *almojarifazgos* (import and export duties) ranged from 6 to 12½ per cent, the higher duties being charged on the sale price of foreign goods (Bancroft, *California*, II, 419, Note 14; 439, Note 14). By a royal order of March 8, 1820, national products transported in Spanish bottoms to San Blas and California were to be admitted duty-free (*ibid.*, II, 439, Note 14). Within a few years after Mexican independence, the missions were being taxed 10 per cent on crops and cattle increase, 6 to 12 per cent on exports, and one *real* (12.5 cents) on each animal slaughtered (*ibid.*, II, 672, Note 39). Continuing into the Mexican regime was the excise on salt and liquor, the sale of papal indulgences and of sealed paper for legal records, the church tithe, the *alcabala* (sales tax), and the 10 per cent tax on products (*ibid.*, I, 632; Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, 467). The last was often payable in kind. For example, the increase in cattle was payable to the *rancho nacional*, which was maintained, as had been the *rancho real* under the former regime, to support the mili-

tary (Bancroft, *California*, II, 546). The *habilitados* were given from 3 to 5 per cent of the taxes they collected (*ibid.*, 521, Note 18; 672, Note 39). In the plan of provincial government (*Plan de Gobierno Provincial resuelto por la Junta General en Monterey, 1824*, MS., Title III, Art. 2), which Bancroft described as serving for a temporary constitution in California (*California*, II, 676), the revenues are described as: (1) tonnage on foreign vessels as set by the last Mexican tariff (2.50 *pesos* per ton [Bancroft, *California*, II, 492, Note 19]); (2) 25 per cent on sale of goods imported in foreign bottoms, after deducting 12½ per cent as before (?); (3) 10 per cent on imports in Mexican bottoms; (4) 6 per cent on exports by foreigners; (5) 12 per cent from the sellers of the goods referred to in the preceding article; (6) the product of the national ranchos; (7) other treasury items – at that time only the income from the posts; (8) the product of the otter-fishery lately established (contract made by governor Luis Argüello with the Russians, December, 1823 [*ibid.*, II, 494, Note 23, 645]); (9) 10 per cent on all cattle branded and on all crops, including wine and brandy, no importation of foreign liquors being permitted. Settlers were permitted to pay the tax in kind, but the missions (in money?) at the following evaluations (*pesos*): cattle, 1.50 per head; wheat, 2.00 per *fanega;* corn, 1.50 per *fanega;* beans, 2.50 per *fanega;* wine, 8.00 per barrel; brandy, 35.00 per barrel. All church effects and goods for the personal use of the padres was exempt. Translation of the plan is found in Bancroft, *California*, II, 512. On October 30, of the same year, the junta repealed items 4 and 5 as of January 1, 1825, and added a tax of 25 per cent on all coin taken from California (*ibid.*, 514, Note 3).

73. By the law of July 13, 1824, the importation and sale of slaves was strictly forbidden (Bancroft, *Mexico*, V, 79, Note 25; Maza, *Código*, 187, 188).

74. This article gives the Congress power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, between the States of the union, and with the Indian tribes (Joseph M. White, *New Collection,* I, 394).

75. No settlements or colonies are to be founded without specific permission, by license, preferably (*Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*, Book IV, Title I, Law 4).

[Unless otherwise indicated, manuscripts referred to above are in the Bancroft Library.]

WILLIAM DUNLOP BRACKENRIDGE
Courtesy of the U. S. National Museum

A Botanist on the Road to Yerba Buena

By Alice Bay Maloney

"Of fine flowers and shrubs in the proper season there must be a great abundance & we had still I think the good luck to find some plants that have not yet been known to Botanists."

WILLIAM DUNLOP BRACKENRIDGE, assistant naturalist with the Oregon-California overland contingent of the U. S. Exploring Expedition (1838–1842), wrote this observation in his journal October 3, 1841, while encamped at the forks of the Little Shasta and Shasta rivers in northern California. He was one of a corps of scientists selected to record the findings of this four-year voyage of a squadron commanded by Captain Charles Wilkes, U. S. N., and he pursued his collecting and recording in the Shasta region and in the Sacramento Valley with the same thoroughness that had marked his work throughout the long trip through temperate, tropic and antarctic climes. While handicapped by an extremely dry season on the Pacific Slope, nevertheless he gathered and made notes of an extensive collection which became the nucleus of the National Herbarium in Washington, D. C.

The company encamped in the Shasta Valley numbered thirty-nine, "men, women, children and Indians," as such cavalcades were enumerated in the early West. It was headed by Lieutenant (afterwards Admiral) George Foster Emmons, U. S. N., and at the rear was vigilant Passed Midshipman Henry Eld, who acted as geographer of the party. The navy and scientific personnel of the brigade were en route south from the Columbia River, where their ship the *Peacock* had been wrecked on the 11th of May while attempting to cross the bar. Anchored in San Francisco Bay were other ships of the squadron waiting their arrival, in order to resume the long voyage. Besides the two officers, Emmons and Eld, the party included: Passed Midshipman George M. Colvocoressis, Assistant Surgeon J. S. Whittle, Titian Ramsay Peale, naturalist; William Rich, botanist; James Dwight Dana, mineralogist; Alfred T. Agate, draughtsman and artist, and William Dunlop Brackenridge, naturalist and horticulturist. The remainder of the party was made up of four marines, two seamen, five trappers and woodsmen engaged at Fort Vancouver, two of whom were accompanied by their Indian wives and children; a French Canadian guide, and two Indian hunters. An American mountaineer, Joel Walker, with his family and a trapper named Burrows with his wife and two other Indian women, joined the California-bound travelers for protection from unfriendly Indians.

An account of the journey from Oregon to California appears in the "Narrative" of Captain Wilkes, which forms the first five volumes of the set of official publications of the Expedition. His story is a composite gleaned from the journals of Lt. Emmons and other members of the group. It allegedly omits all references to brushes with hostile Rogue and Shasta Indians and does not include reports on the scientific work done by the experts in particular fields.

A vast amount of material has been published, official and otherwise, by and about the Expedition. In 1942 Daniel C. Haskell, Bibliographer of the New York Public Library, published his comprehensive *United States Exploring Expedition, 1838–1842, and its Publications, 1844–1874.*[1] In his introduction he says:

> "Although the published reports are the results of studies made nearly a century ago, they are still in constant use as works of reference. In the progress of the work, a considerable amount of material — notes, correspondence, manuscript text — was pigeonholed and has been largely forgotten. It is hoped that the present compilation may serve to bring some of these neglected sources to the attention of the scientific as well as the bibliographical world."

A study of Mr. Haskell's work, which Miss Alice Eastwood calls a most thorough and remarkable bibliography, revealed that the original manuscript of Brackenridge's Pacific Slope journal was in the archives of the Maryland Historical Society at Baltimore. Of this work the sections relating to the Pacific Northwest were published in the Washington Historical Quarterly in 1930–31,[2] ably edited by Otis B. Sperlin; but Mr. Sperlin's researches and the Brackenridge diary terminated at the forks of the Shasta River, after the party had crossed the 42nd parallel of latitude marking the Oregon-California boundary. Through correspondence with Mr. William D. Hoyt, Assistant Director of the Maryland Historical Society, photostats of the remainder or California section of the manuscript, together with permission to publish in this Quarterly, were secured. The highly technical work of identification of the plants listed by the botanist was undertaken by Miss Alice Eastwood, Curator of Botany of the California Academy of Sciences in Golden Gate Park, in which task she was aided by her assistant, Mr. John Howell. Her findings are presented herewith; also her comments on various aspects of her study of ,the manuscript.

In the *Dictionary of American Biography* appears a brief though comprehensive account of William Dunlop Brackenridge's life and works by Donald Culross Peattie,[3] a distinguished member of the California Historical Society. From Mr. Peattie's account and the works of Mr. Sperlin and Mr. Haskell, the writer has extracted a few notes on this early botanist in California, to serve as an introduction to his own narrative of his adventures in this region.

Born in Ayr, Scotland, June 10, 1810, and educated in the schools of his native city, William Brackenridge early showed his bent for botany, and at the age of sixteen was proficient enough to be given charge of the gardens of a large estate. Later he became gardener to Dr. Neil at Edinburgh. He spent four years in this position and then went to Poland to landscape the estate of Count Ebors, after which time he spent three years under Professor Frederick Otto in charge of a department of the Berlin Botanical Gardens. From Berlin he sailed to America where he landed in Philadelphia and soon found employment with Robert Buists, a famous nurseryman. His employer, recognizing his ability, recommended Brackenridge to the Secretary of the Navy to accompany Captain Wilkes on the long projected expedition around the world. Dr. Charles Pickering had already been engaged as naturalist, so Brackenridge was made his assistant and designated as horticulturist. Because the report of William Rich, official botanist, was deemed inadequate for publication, the reports of Brackenridge became of primary importance.

William Brackenridge was a brawny Scot, " . . . a sixfooter, with broad shoulders and broad forehead. He was rugged in speech and sometimes blunt and impetuous, but at heart he was kind and sensitive. He was ever a student of the classics equally well with science." We find him a strong mature man of thirty-one, undaunted by the hardships of a long horseback journey through hostile Indian country, and ranging the hills and valleys of present Siskiyou county. Apparently he was untouched by fever and ague which afflicted many members of the overland party.

A story of Brackenridge's narrow escape from Indians was related verbally for at least two generations before it saw print. The tale is linked with one of his botanical discoveries, a plant hitherto unknown. " . . . while Brackenridge," so the story goes, "was on his way from Mount Shasta to San Francisco an alarm from Indians caused the explorers to run. Brackenridge saw a strange-looking plant, grabbed a clump and carried it to camp. This was the *Darlingtonia californica*."[4] Miss Eastwood had heard this tradition and challenged the writer to find its source. In her pursuit of sidelights on the overland expedition, the above version turned up unexpectedly in the *Life of James Dwight Dana*, by Daniel Coit Gilman, one-time president of the University of California. Dana was a member of the party and undoubtedly he told the story to his biographer, as it has the sound of an eye witness' account. *Darlingtonia* still grows in abundance where the botanist first saw it, on marshy ground near Mount Eddy[5] and on the Shasta-Trinity divide.

The path down the Sacramento canyon proved a rugged route along an obscure Indian trail. Brackenridge made no journal entries between Mount Shasta and the head of the Sacramento Valley where the party encamped on October 11, 1841, near present Red Bluff. There he listed his specimens and observed: "Our route over these mountains was too late in the season to have an opportunity of seeing much of the annual vegetation, but if we are to judge of the dried fragments of such that we observed, that this set of plants must be beautiful and varied."

The friendly welcome accorded the party upon their arrival at Sutter's Fort pleased Brackenridge, but he did not allow this feeling to influence his canny estimate of the worthy proprietor, Johann August Sutter. In the same mood he wrote in his diary impressions of the padres at the missions of San Jose, Santa Clara and San Francisco, not omitting to mention his annoyance at what he considered arbitrary decisions on the part of young Henry Eld, leader of the land contingent from Sutter's Fort to Yerba Buena.

The men of the party were happy to sight the masts of their ship, *The Vincennes,* over the tops of the sandhills as they rode into Yerba Buena, thus completing a horseback trip of eight hundred miles. The waiting ships set sail at the earliest possible moment. "*The Oregon & California Plants,*" wrote Dr. Charles Pickering to Asa Gray, July 5, 1843, "were shipped in 1841 from the Sandwich Isl. direct for the United States. The vessel as well as I have been able to make out, touched at Valparaiso & thence proceeded on a voyage to China! then to Europe, where she was sold! and subsequently going on a voyage to the West Indies, finally dropped our plants at Havanna! They have been written for by the Department, and we are in hopes of some day seeing them." [6]

Upon the return of the Expedition, Brackenridge had charge of the newly erected greenhouse and the living plants brought back by the squadron. He was assigned by Captain Wilkes to write a volume for the official reports, the order reading simply "Ferns"; and as such this work is usually referred to, but the correct title is, *Botany-Cryptogamia-Filices Including Lycopodiaceae and Hydropterides* by William D. Brackenridge. With a Folio Atlas of forty-six plates. Philadelphia Printed by C. Sherman, 1854."

"Ferns" [7] is an exceedingly rare volume of the Expedition publications. Peattie says [8] that it was "Brackenridge's and Asa Gray's scientific masterpiece. Unhappily the quarto volume of text and plates were practically all destroyed by fire in 1856 so they remain the scarcest of the reports of the expedition, and indeed, among the rarest of all modern botanical monographs of value." Of the first or official issue but one hundred copies were printed. Of these, twenty-four were destroyed by fire and not replaced. Of the unofficial issue the exact number printed is not known, but one hundred is indicated by Brackenridge's correspondence. However, all but ten were destroyed in a second fire, this time in a Philadelphia bindery. The Bancroft Library of the University of California owns a copy of "Ferns," which is Volume XVI of the *Publications of the United States Exploring Expedition.*[9]

In 1843 Brackenridge married Miss Isabella Bell of Jedborough, Scotland. In 1854 he moved to a small estate near Baltimore where he established a florist and nursery business. About 1876 his son Archibald took over the florist trade, Brackenridge retaining the nursery. For many years Brackenridge was the editor of the *American Farmer*. He contributed also to other professional periodicals throughout a period of nearly fifty years. He was the moving spirit of the Maryland Horticultural Society, and fellow members of the profession showed him every honor. He died suddenly February 3, 1893, at his residence in Govantown near Baltimore.[10]

As an explorer in the field of botany, Brackenridge, it will be seen, occupies a permanent place in California history. His upper Sacramento observations constitute our earliest known record of such exploration in this region. The reader will find his journal individualistic and entertaining, with unique phrasing tinged by a Scottish burr, "neat little fern," "very neat flow'ring." He seasoned his scientific record with salty personal comments and flavored it with tangy herbs from the mind of a gardener-botanist.

NOTES

1. Daniel C. Haskell, *The United States Exploring Expedition, 1838–1842 and its Publications 1844–1874* (The New York Public Library, 1942).

2. Otis B. Sperlin, "The Brackenridge Journal for the Oregon Country," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XXI (1930), 218-229, 298-305; XXII (1931), 42-58, 129-245, 216-227.

3. Donald Culross Peattie, "William Dunlop Brackenridge," *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1928), II, 545.

4. Daniel Coit Gilman, *The Life of James Dwight Dana, Scientific Explorer, Mineralogist, Geologist, Zoologist, Professor in Yale University* (New York and London, 1889), p. 62.

5. Mount Eddy (9038 ft.) is the highest peak of a range of mountains southwest across Strawberry Valley from Mount Shasta.

6. Haskell, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

7. Haskell, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

8. Peattie, *op. cit.*, p. 545.

9. Regarding publication of the reports on the botanical collections, Dr. Asa Gray produced Volume XV, *Botany-Phanerogamia*, with a folio atlas of one hundred plates, Part I (Philadelphia, 1854). As already noted, Volume XVI on ferns was the work of Brackenridge. Volume XVII, containing *Botany-Cryptogamia*, by various authors, and *Phanerogamia of Pacific North America*, by Dr. John Torrey (Philadelphia, 1874) has a complicated story, which is set forth in Mr. Haskell's work, pages 93-95. Volume XVIII, *Botany-Phanerogamia*, Part II, by Gray was never published. In 1872 Gray wrote to Torrey, "I am sure that if the rest of my manuscript is called for, I shall turn it over with satisfaction." The unpublished manuscript was never called for and is now in the Gray Herbarium at Cambridge, Massachusetts.

10. Sperlin, *op. cit.*, XXI, p. 219.

Journal of William Dunlop Brackenridge §

October 1–28, 1841

CALIFORNIA – SHASTE

Oct. 1st/41 Mooved from camp ground at ¼ past 7 A.M. crossed the Chaste River soon after – breadth 80 yards – 18 in. to 2 feet deep – bounded by low bushy banks, this river abounds in a species of Salmon of a whiteish colour and not very delicate to the taste, passd over during the day a gravely sandy desert which continued 12 miles and bounded by conical low hills, came again on to the Shasty & camped by it – (distance 20 miles-) –

Plants, Compositae [1] – in habit of Ephedra. Salt marsh.

Cruciferaea [2] – flor. in spikes of a cream colour, 15 to 18 inch.

Dalibardia [3] – a smaller species than the one on the Umpqua River.

Fournfortia – habit of, leaves glutinose, Rhus sp.[4] – leaves trilobate.

Helianthus sp.[5] – flor. yellow, Scilla looking [6] plant in meadows near river.

Lychnus sp. – flor. Lilac [7] fringed. Weather very warm, no water for 15 miles, miserable country, the Shaste Valley –

2d The country was a trifle better than yesterday, a deal of crusted salt was found in low places on the prairies, with patches of Spiraea [8] & Dogwood [9] & a better supply of grass, for the first time we came upon a large herd of Antelope and although we got several shots at them none were killed. Venison we had always in abundance so that we did not care much for them as the[y] are rather inferior eating to Deer. (distance 18 miles-)

Plants. Oreogonium [10] sp. – fol. spatulate, flor. pale rose, stem 4 inch – salt marsh.

Parnassia sp.[11] – an P. palustris of Europe – stem 6 inches, flor. white – marsh.

Gentiana sp.[12] – annual, flor. pale lilac, fol. glaucus, 8 inches – borders of stream, a second sp. was found in marsh but no flowers.

Bartonia sp.[13] – flor. orange-(.) local on prairie.

Cleome sp.[14] – flor. yellow (.) very handsome, Lupinus [15] sp. – flor. blue – stemless, three or four different Compositaea, & a Campanula.[16] Also a sp. of Pinus like Pinus Sylvestris,[17] had visit of Shaste Indians at camp – who conducted themselves with great propriety, the[y] sold us fish, Bows & Arrows, for knives buttons &c. Their bows are made of Yew tree, their arrows of Tassle wood which the[y] barb with volcanic glass, their Quivers are either of Seal skin or wild Cat, theese weapons are well made and the[y] use them with great dexterity, particularly in shooting fish, and for my own part I would as soon at one hundred yards distance, have a musket discharged at me as an arrow from one of these Indians Bows –

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§ Numbers refer to Miss Eastwood's list (pp. 339-42); symbols, to Mrs. Maloney's notes on pages 335-36.

CALIFORNIA SOURCE OF THE SACRAMENTO RIVER

Oct. 3rd We had now to ascend and cross the California range of Mountains which according to our guides opinion was to take us at least seven days, but as neither our Horses & many of the party being in the best condition we did not reach the head of the valley of the Sacramento till the afternoon of the 10th, the route which we took was to the west of the Bute‡ or snowy Mountain, but tis my belief that had we kept to the eastward of it our route would have been shorter and easier. The general tendency of the range is north and South, but the whole is one continued series of valleys – hills & ridges standing in all positions towards each other, these ridges are in general clothed with vegetation, for with the exception of a number of rugged precipituous bluffs – near to the Bute, soil is found in abundance on them all. Pines & Oaks are the principal timber trees of theese mountains. On the afternoon of the first day upon them to the west of the Bute we came upon the head waters of the Sacramento – a small stream about three yards broad, we were told by our guide that this was the principal branch & off and on we kept to this river till we reached the valley on the opposite side. of fine flowers and shrubs in the proper season there must be a great abundance & we had still I think the good luck to find some plants that have not yet been known to Botanists, and in the following list theese will be found, –

Plants observed, and specimens collected on California Mountains –

Chimonanthus [18] sp. – a shrub 10 ft. – leaves fragrant, hab. moist banks.

Sarracenia [19] sp. – leaves 3 ft. long – flower stem exceeding the leaves in length, hab. wet places.

Diospiros [20] sp. – ? a shrub 4 ft. high – on dry banks.

Pavia [21] sp. – a small tree or bush – fruit the size of a Peach, hab. on dry banks.

Zauchnina [22] of Presl, a splendid plant with the fruit of an Epilobium & flower of a Fuchsia – hab. in dry sandy places-

Cercis sp.[23] – in fruit, a shrub 10 feet high – found afterwards in the valley of Sacramento

Paruassia sp.[24] – flor. white, hab. in marshes.

Mitella sp.[25] – large broad leaves like Gunnera, leaves 15 inches broad, hab. banks of river.

Cypripedium sp.[26] – moist places – out of flower.

Convolvulus sp.[27] – a neat little creeper with white flowers – hab. in dry rocks.

" [Convolvulus] sp.[28] – leaves hastate – flor. a greenish white – plant prostrate woody, hab. rocks.

Quercus sp.[29] – acorns long, caps shallow, leaves entire, evergreen – a tree 60 ft., bushy –

" [Quercus] sp. – acorns slender [30] very pointed, a scrub oak much branched, hab. on top of Mts.

Ceanothus sp.[31] – leaves lanceolate, green above & whiteish beneath, stem enclined. frt. in racemes.

" [Ceanothus] sp.[32] – leaves dentate, stem trailing on the ground, habit that of Dryas octopetala.

Rhamnus sp.[33] – flor. small green, frt. a black berry the size of a Pea, shrub 8 ft. – handsome.

Polygala sp.[34] – flor. pale blue, whole habit that of P. Senege, hab. the dry rocky banks.

Pentstemon sp.[35] – leaves glaucus and pointed, hab. dry sandy places.

Viola sp.[36] – a very singular plant growing in company with an Aurum – [37] no flor. on either.

Thuja sp.[38] – a tree 40 ft. – different from the one on the Columbia.

Two trees related to Castanea [39] with prickly capsules.

Oreogonium sp.[40] – stem herbaceous – simple, flor. globose, leaves spatulate.

" sp.[41] – stem shruby – flor. deep orange, hab. dry sandy places.

Cephalanthus sp.[42] – 6 ft. high – banks of the river.

Dendromicon rigidum.[43] Hooker; related to escholtzia – a shrub on the tops of open ridges.

Audibertia [44] incana – flor. bright scarlet – a very handsome plant.

Scrophalarinea [45] – a handsome lilac flowered plant on dry rocks.

Psoralea [46-47] 2 sp. – both now out of flower –

Cheilanthus [48] sp. – a neat little fern on the face of dry rocks. } ferns
Woodwardia [49] sp. – found in moist shady places.

Mahonia [50] sp. – leaves more glaucus – prickly & upright than the Oregon ones.

Aristolochia [51] sp. – a climbing shrub – but now out of flower.

Photinia [52] arbutifolia Lindl. a very handsome shrub, 15 ft. high.

Crucifera [53] – flor. purple, pod hook shaped, leaves ovate, amplexicaule, glaucus.

Crucifera [54] sp. – on rocks of an upright habit.

Composita – 4 or 5 very neat flowering annuals.

plant [55] related to Ilex, with red fruit and much branched.

Pinus sp.[56] – cones arranged in bunches on old stem, leaves in threes, stem 40 ft. high.

" [Pinus sp.] – cones globular oval large, leaves long, 6 inches, tree much branched, this species as also that of Lambertiana furnish large edible seeds, which the Indians are very fond of.

Mimulus sp.[57] – perhaps M. Cardinalis, but it struck me that our plant was much finer, the flowers being larger and of a deeper crimson.

Oct. 11th Our route over theese mountains was too late in the season to have an opportunity of seeing much of the annual vegetation, but if we are to judge of the dried fragments of such that we observed, that this set of plants must be beautiful and varied.

On theese mountains we passed an extensive Soda spring‡‡ the effervescence of whoos waters were as agreeable as any manufactured in our large citys – and to be in possession of such a fountain in the U. States would be the having of a fortune.

At the head of the valley we met with a great many Indians, who were very friendly and docile in there manner, theese people subsist principally on fish, Nuts and other seeds of plants, the[y] shewed us cakes of bread as black as coal, made of Acorns pounded into a meal between two stones, this bread was sweatened by the berrys of the Arbutus[58] which have a very pleasant tartish flavour. Grapes of the Chicken sort[59] were now in great profusion on the sacramento, and we found the Indians busy collecting the acorns from the trees & drying them in the sun for a winters store, theese acorns in a raw state are very agreeable to the palate, being altogether free of that bitterish tannin-principle peculiar to most of the Oaks.

By a calculation made each day of the number of miles gone, I find that the breadth of the range where we crossed- was- 108 miles –

The first days journey down the valley was on the north side, the country descending very gently – soil, sand and gravel, supporting a few scraggy bushes. I observed a great many decayed stems of several kinds of bulbs, which I took for Calochortus or Scilla, this country appears to be rich in Bulbous plants, – (distance 26 miles) – camped on the banks of the Sacramento, where we found a fine species of Platanus[60] of very graceful groth.

12th Kept close along the north bank of the river for some time then crossed it – the water taking the Horses to the belly, and came too at what our people called Bear Camp. We had this day seen several of the Grizzly variety, one of which was shot on the way down, and towards eavening four more Bears & three Dear were killed, of Antelope, Dear, Elk & Bears I never such number in my life, (distance 8 miles), land of inferior quality – no variety of plants – the prairies having been burned over –

Oct. 13th We found the valley on the South side of the River flater and the soil richer, the most of the good land was covered with stately Oaks of two different species.[61–62] I calculated 20 good trees to the acre, saw a number of the Indians collecting the Acorns – (distance 23 miles). Plants observed –

Gnaphalium sp. – 2 inches high, whole plant downy with short spines, prairie ground.[63]

Fraxinus sp.[64] – leaves broad – much devided, appearance of Acer, 30 ft.

Umbrosia sp.[65] – banks of the Sacramento –

Rosa sp.[66] – flowers much clustered – handsome –

Dipsacus sp.[67] – banks of river – Platanus, Willows & Ash line the banks of the river –

14th By keeping to close to the river we were brot-up by deep mud creek, which compelled us to ride from 6 to 8 miles round to get on to the proper path, (distance by a straight line 8 miles – with all the turns and windings, 18-).

Plants – Valerianella [68] sp. – not in flower –

Baccharis [69] sp. – a shrub 10 feet high – banks of the River –

15th The prairie today was destitue of Oaks, and only near the River were any observed, the whole of the valley we passed through today had been flooded during the most part of the summer, with the exception of a few annuals related to madia [70] – of a very stiff habit – nothing in the way of plants new to us was observed, (distance 18 miles).

16th Today we came in sight of what our Canadians called the Bute mountains, theese consisted of a number of barren peaks – and towards the summit Rocky & rugged, with a few scattered bushes & trees vegetating in the cliffs, water being scarse on the proper route, which obliged us to pass through among them, where we found a stagnant pool of water near to the base of one of the highest ridges, where the party encamped for the night, (distance 10 miles). Sun very powerful with cold winds from the north –

17th The wind during the night had blown a complete hurricane overturning several of our Tents & making us in every way feel disagreeable, journeying along we got rid of the mts. at an early hour & soon came into an extensive prairie thickly covered with Oak trees. In the afternoon made feather River which was about

Oct. 17th About 100 yards broad, we could find no good fording place & therefore kept down along its margin, near this river I saw some of the finest Oak timber observed during the whole trip through from the Columbia, our hunters today out of the numerous herds of Elk & Antelope which we saw shot a fine Buck of the latter; and towards eavening as we encampd on the banks of the River, our Indian killed a fine fat Cow, which was no doubt one of a number* that had strayed from the party on their way through to the Columbia the previous year, (distance 23 miles). of Plants new to us

Heliotrope,[71] on salt marsh.
Ariodeous plant,[72] in habit of simplocarpus, margin of Ponds.
Cassia [73] sp. – pods bristly – common on dry prairie.

18th The party was delayed from starting till 11 A.M. owing to several of our Horses & Mules having strayed away from the camp – we then forded the Feather River about ¼ of a mile above its junction with the Sacramento, the water was about 2 feet deep with a bottom of quick shifting sand in which our pack horses laboured greatly. On the bank where we landed was the site of an old Indian town where upwards of 1500 Indians perished** by Fever in one Summer – The bones lay strewed about on the hills in all directions, there being not enough of the Tribe spared – as we were told – to bury the dead. The party camped on the Sacramento – (distance 6 Miles) –

Plants, Mimulus sp. – flos. brownish [74] – habit that of Latea, banks of river.
Scirpus [75] 2 species – and a number of other Grasses.

(Oct.) 19th We were now 15 miles from the first settlement, viz – that belonging to Captain Sutter,† one of our party had gone on yesterday before us, and as we had got fairly over the Rio de Los Americanos – or the American River, Capt. S. with a number of his attendants met us and gave the party a very friendly invitation to make a stay at his place for a few days. – Capt. S. is a Swiss by birth & has served for a considerable number of years in the French Army, his bearing is perfectly military, height about 5 ft. 8 inches, rather stout but well proportioned, hair fair – countenance of a rudy complection, (distance 18 miles).
On the termination of the Russian grant in California, he purchased of them, all there moveable stock – which consisted principally in Cattle, Horses – Guns &c &c. He has succeeded in procuring from the Mexican Government a grant of Land on the Sacramento – of 30 Square leagues in extent – which he calls Nova Helvetica. His Hacendo is situated on a plain about half way between the Sacramento & the Americans rivers, a little way below there junctions, about 2½ miles from either, the dwelling house which is large,†† and built with a projecting roof in the Swiss style is now finished, this with a large number of smaller buildings for his people, theese he is fortifying or encompassing about with a thick mud wall. inside of this wall he intends to have his Guns mounted – so as to form a battery, for the convenience of bringing goods close up to his Hacendo, and also to make the place more formidable against any attack from the Spanish population who are not very friendly towards him, he is about to lead the Americans river close under his battery, by which he will be assisted by a natural hollow which passes through between the two rivers in almost the

wished for direction. The Sacramento is navagable for vessels of 20 Tons up as far as opposite his place which is about 115 miles inland from San Francisco, a circumstance which makes his property of greater value, as goods of all description can be conveyed up and down with great facility. Captn. S. keeps a number of individuals a hunting Beaver and Otter & has prohibited the H. B. Company from trapping on his property, he is also by subtile – but fair means securing the friendship of the Indian tribes about him, and giving every inducements to foreigners of all denominations to settle about his vicinity in the capacity of Farmers. According to his own account his live stock consists of 7000 head of Cattle, 1000 Sheep, 1200 Horse, his land produces good grass, and a deal of it rich enough to raise excellent grain. At Boteka††† one of the Russian old Settlements, he told me that there is large Gardens well stocked with Grapes, Apples, Pears and other small fruits – which he was about to remove in spring over to the Sacramento where he intended to cultivate the Grape, in order to make wines from it – and I doubt not but he will succeed.

(Oct.) 20th Like his countrymen he certainly talks a little largely – but granting him a little license in this respect, with the stock he has begun on – and the intelligence and perseverence which he posseses, in a few years there will be nothing in California to compete with him in point of strength, wealth, & influence.
Our party was encamped on the banks of the Sacramento – and as the Captain gave the use of his Launch to the party, a number of those who were sickly preferred going down to S. Francisco by water with Mr. E. [Emmons] at there head, while a party with the Horses should proceed by land, the last route suiting my pursuits better – I joined, Mr. Eld being appointed the leader.

21st About mid-day our land party started, having for a guide a intelligent young Spanish peasant. I felt a pleasant sensation in passing along to view the numerous flocks of Cattle and Horses which were in all directions seen grazing on the rich prairies, which brought forcibly to my recollection scenes of former days, the land appeared rich but rather thinly clad with trees. (distance today 15 miles). camped near a small pool of water.

22d A number of evergreen [76] species of Oak made there appearance today along the banks of a small river called the Moqueles, which was not more than six paces wide, but from the appearance of its course a large quantity of water during the rainy season must flow down its channel, a species of Pavia [77] (perhaps the same as that found on the upper Mts) was found in large quantities. (dist^{ce} 32 miles).

23d In the latter part of the fore noon of this day we came to the River called Rio San Joaquin, which was about 50 yards broad and about

3 feet deep, our guide advised us to camp here for the night as there was no water within 30 miles of us if we went on, but Mr. E. [Eld] wishing to bring into play the very little power with which he was invested rejected the advice of the Guide and ordered the party to proceed, when night closed arround we were not in sight of any habitation, but after riding several miles we came upon a miserable Rancho where not a blade of grass to be had for our horses, but one of the keepers gave us to know that About 4 miles farther on we would find both water and feed for the Horses, the eavening was very cold & we brot up a few minutes before Ten P.M. on the margin of a morass where not a drop of water was procurable for Supper – after fasting all day, and obliged to lay down at iast to rest among the wet flags – (distance 44 miles). of Plants –

Zauschina sp.[78] – a very handsome scarlet perennial.
Astragalus sp.[79] – pods very much inflated – on high hills.
Monarda sp.[80] – Compositae – a neat shrub – on rocky situations.

24th A bare and bleak range of Mountains set in this morning soon after leaving the morass – and towards midday came upon a large Indian Town where the natives looked clean, both men and women were busy pounding acorns into meal between two stones, this being Sunday a good many natives were found going too and coming from the Mission on a visit to there relations or friends. At 2 P.M. we reached the Mission of San Jose which is situated on an enclined plain at the base of a range of low mountains, and surrounded on one side by Gardens and the rest by fields – a Chapel and about a dozen of hovels made use of as dwelling houses – also a quarter occupied as school rooms and dormitory for the natives – the whole in a delapidated state. We had a letter of introduction to Don Jose Antonio Estrado (one of the Mission) who received us coldly and in a sort of uncerimonious manner invited us into a large ruinous sort of Hall which like our host I have not the least doubt seen better times, at least judging from the present mean appearance of them both. Our own external appearances was *certainly* anything but preposessing, but he might *certainly* have detected beneath the Buckskin dress & from the conversation that insued – some faint traits of Gentlemen; – which Mr. Forbs, Agent for the Hudson B. Co. who happened to come in at the time was not long in discovering, and kindly invited us out to spend the night at his House which was on our way – The pack Horses being drove on ahead, Mr. R. and myself followed taking leave of this miserable fallen place and its unhospitable occupants. Messrs. P. & E. remained to see the Chapel And the Old Padre whoom we left asleep – The whole of our party reached Mr. Forbs's house at dusk (distance gone today 15 miles). no plant of any consequence was seen – every particle of vegetation (but trees) being browsed down by the numerous herds of cattle everywhere to be found in California.

25th Mr. F. rode out with us a considerable distance this morning giving us all the information in his power relating to our route through to Yerba Bueno. The Mission of Santa Clara laying on our way we concluded to visit it – on arriving at the pass that set off in that direction, the Guide was sent forward with the pack horses to wait out arrival, at the Mission we were soon introduced to the Padre or Principal, who received us in a very courteous manner and shewed us all the robes, vessels and other decorative utentials peculiar to their order. we were afterwards shewed by another individual into a small fruit Garden which was principally stocked with Grape vines in the center surrounded by a number of Fig, Peach, Olive, & Almond trees, in another larger inclosure not far distant were Apples, Pears, and small fruits in abundance, the fruits produced here are of fine quality, the Prickly Pear [81] is here cultivated to a great extent and produces during the whole year a profusion of fruit – which the people in California are extravagantly fond of. on leaving the old Padre generously made us a present of some fruit – his conduct towards us strongly contrasting with that experienced at the neighbouring Mission of San Jose.

At 4 P.M. we came up to our party who had encamped on the margin of creek of water influenced by the tides – (distance 20 miles)

Plants. Verbena sp.[82] – in habit of V. venosa, flor. blue.
Salicornia sp.[83] – abundant on salt marsh near St. Clara.
Stachys sp.[84] – in thickets near St. Clara.

The country around St Clara is flat, with a rich loamy soil, a large portion towards the bay consisting of a salt marsh, towards the base of a range of Mts. – close behind are found a good many oaks thinly scattered over the plain. (distance today 20 miles).

26th Our horses being much broke down, and the feed about this camp good it was deemed advisable to give them this day to recruit, nevertheless that all of us were anxious to get to the ship – I for one – having only been on board of her once – for the last 6 months, this day was spent in collecting Seeds & Botanical specimens, to the last we added – Nicotiana sp.[85] – flos. white – leaves very sticky – plant annual.

Mimulus sp.[86] – stem shruby, leaves lanceolate, flor. pale orange, this I believe to be the same plant that Mr. Nuttall introduced into the U. States from this country.

Quercus sp.[87] – a tree 60 feet – stem smooth much branched at top, leaves prickly, acorns large with a sharp point.

Rhamnus sp.[88] – a shrub 10 feet high – common in thickets.

Leptosiphon sp.[89] – a slender annual with white flowers, dry places.

Solanum sp.[90] – stem shruby – flos. a fine sky blue – a handsome plant.

Laurus sp. – perhaps L. Ptolmi [91] of Hooker, this tree reaches the height of 40 feet – and covered with a profusion of fruit in size and appearance of a Damson plum.

Two species of Composita [92–93] related to Grindellia, from Salt Marshes.

27th It had rained very heavy during the night, and as the wet season was now setting in we expected a continuence of it during the day, but fortunately it cleared up towards morning – so that we proceeded on our way to reach Yerba Bueno before dark, but many of our horses giving out compelled us to camp out on an open prairie, journeying along, the last two days we saw vast flocks of Geese – of the Gray or Calling Goose, and the small white or Snow Goose, theese we found on marshes and low ground – in pools and lakes of water from 4 or 5 species of Duck was also observed, both Geese and Ducks were so tame that we could walk up and Shoot as many of them as we had a mind. of Elk & Antelope we had seen none since leaving Captain Sutters, but specimens of Deer occasionally in thickets were seen though rather rare in comparison to the numbers which were almost every where to be met with up the Sacramento towards the base of the mountains – (distance today 18 miles).

Oct. 28th About 11 O'clock made the Mission of the Neustra Fra – de los Dolores, the buildings of which were in a very delapidated state. we spent only as much time here as to pay our respects to the Padre and take a view of the Chapel, which is certainly much inferior to that at Santa Clara, in about an hour after leaving this Mission we reached Yerba Buena, where we found boats from the Ship awaiting our arrival, (distance 16 miles) –

The country passd over today was mostly of a barren & sandy nature, particularly that part between the last Mission and the village of Yerba Buena, which is almost of a pure sand, producing a variety of scraggy shrubs, many of which were valuable aquisitions to our overland collection. Among them were the following –

Lotus sp.[94] – flos. yellow – on sand banks – 10 inches high.
Cruciferous plant like cheranthus,[95] flor. cream colour – sandy places.
Lupinus sp.[96] – a shrub 6 feet high. flos. yellow – very common.
A Croton [97] looking shrub – prostrate on sand banks.
Ceanothus sp.[98] – shrub 15 ft. high – sand hills near Yerba Buena.
Echiveria sp. [99] – in rocky situations.

NOTES

‡ "Mount Shaste, or as it usually is called the "Shaste Butte," is not situated upon any connected chain, but rises itself near the connection point of several; the headwaters of the Sacramento separating it from the great range bounding the western side of its

valley, and from the peaks which form the source of the Trinity." George Gibbs, "Journal of the Expedition of Col. Redick McKee, U. S. Indian Agent, through Northwestern California in the summer and fall of 1851," *in* Volume III, *History of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, by Henry R. Schoolcraft (Phila., 1853), p. 165.

‡‡ Lower Soda Springs on Soda Creek, which flows into the Sacramento from the east near Castle Crags.

* Residents of the Oregon Country made many excursions to California to secure cattle for their farms. A large drive was made in 1837, from which many head were lost.

** In 1833 an epidemic caused the death of hundreds of Sacramento Valley Indians. Floods had probably washed the bones Brackenridge saw from their burial ground near the site of a once populous village.

† "Oct. 18th, 1841. A party of Comodore Wilkes' Exploring Squadron, arrived from Oregon by land, consisting of the Scientific Corps, a few Naval Officers, Marine Soldiers and Mountaineers as Guides under command of Lieut. Emmons. I received them as well as I could, and then the Scientific Corps left by Land for San Jose and the Naval Officers and Marines I dispatched them on board of one of my vessels." *The Diary of Johann August Sutter, with an Introduction by Douglas S. Watson* (San Francisco, Grabhorn Press, 1932), p. 14.

†† "The entry in Brackenridge for 1841 is interesting in that it shows the state of the fort at this early period in its history. I suppose the reference to 'the dwelling house which is large' is what we call the Central Building, and the only part of the original fort which escaped destruction. Bidwell says the fort was begun in 1841 and completed in 1843. The fort was built on a hill – as hills go in Sacramento – beside a stream or slough which meandered toward the American river on the one hand and down to the Sacramento on the other. In high water time small boats could come directly to the fort. This slough was eventually filled in. Two small artificial lakes take its place on the fort grounds today. Sutter very likely spoke of some ambitious plan such as is mentioned in the Brackenridge journal, but I know of no actual digging of any ditch." Carroll D. Hall, Curator of Sutter's Fort, to Alice May Maloney, November 6, 1945.

††† "La Bodega, near San Francisco, was occupied by the Russians early in the year 1812 by permission of the Spanish Government," *The Russian Colonies in California*, this QUARTERLY, XII (Sept. 1933), p. 189.

An Account and List of the Plants in the Brackenridge Journal

By Alice Eastwood

FROM Brackenridge's journal it is evident that he had an excellent general knowledge of plants, gained from his early study of botany, from his experience as a gardener on estates in Scotland and in Poland, and from what he had learned at the Berlin Botanical Garden. He recognized well-known genera along the route, and the families to which the plants belonged; but, with few exceptions, the species were unfamiliar to him, since the flora of California is unique among world floras. His descriptions of those he did not know, however, and his likening them to plants with which he was familiar, were of much help in making the identifications; and, besides, I have made many collecting trips in the area through which the expedition passed.

The few plants for which Brackenridge gave the scientific names were all showy species peculiar to California that had been introduced into Europe by early explorers. He knew them either from actual specimens seen in the gardens and conservatories of Europe, or from the beautiful colored illustrations in botanical magazines. *Dendromecon rigida* Benth., the golden bush-poppy, was one of these plants. It had been collected ten years previously by David Douglas at Monterey. Another was the Christmas berry, *Photinia arbutifolia* Lindl., known from the collections of Archibald Menzies, naturalist with Vancouver on the famous voyage of the *Discovery*, 1790–94. Menzies' specimen was taken, probably in fruit, on the site of San Francisco, where it can be found native in Laurel Hill Cemetery, still unimproved at this date. The California fuchsia, *Zauschneria californica* Presl, had been collected at Monterey in 1792 by Thaddeus Haenke, botanist with the Malaspina expedition. *Mimulus cardinalis* was named by Douglas and had been collected probably at Monterey; *Audibertia incana* Benth., another of Douglas' specimens, was called by him *Salvia carnosa*, the name it now bears.

This last named plant is a common species, growing in semiarid regions from the State of Washington to San Diego County in California. Brackenridge's description was misleading. He represented it as having bright scarlet flowers. In the fall, the bracts, which earlier in the season almost conceal the blue flowers, become rose-colored or purplish, but I have never seen them "bright scarlet." Why it impressed him as a "very handsome plant" was apparently because of these bracts, not the flowers.

The *Diospyros* or persimmon was a mystery to me, as there is no native persimmon on the Pacific coast. What had led Brackenridge to call the plant he saw a persimmon? In the east the leaves of the persimmon turn red in the fall, so that was a clue. The dogwood, *Cornus Nuttallii,* is gorgeous in California in autumn, but in other ways it did not seem to be the right plant, especially as it somewhat resembles the eastern species, *Cornus florida,* which he must have known. Mrs. Maloney, who had lived for some years in southern Oregon, suggested that it was the cascara, *Rhamnus Purshiana,* which she knew as a red-foliaged shrub in fall.

A second uncertainty was *Dalibarda.* One species on the Atlantic coast, *Dalibarda repens,* is a low plant related to the raspberry (*Rubus*); but nothing similar, nor one described as having glutinous leaves, had ever been found in the Pacific coast area. However, a common, shrubby, wild currant, *Ribes cereum,* has glutinous leaves somewhat similar in shape to those of *Dalibarda,* and at the time Brackenridge saw it would have been without flowers or fruits. What he saw was probably this plant.

The plant Brackenridge called *Fraxinus* (the scientific name of the ash) was also puzzling. From its having reminded him of *Acer,* the maple, and his description of the leaves as broad and much divided, the tree was probably the box elder or cut-leaf maple, *Acer Negundo californicum.*

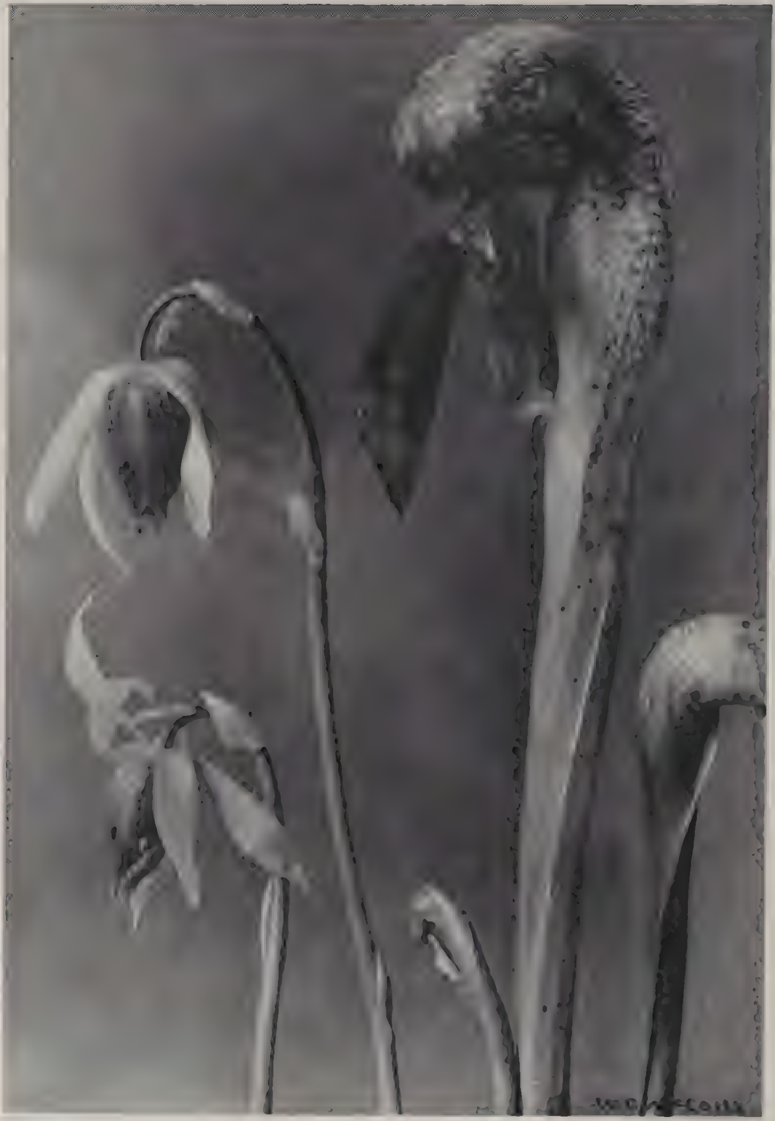
Chimonanthus, a native of China and Japan but not found growing wild in North America, is the name of a genus related to *Calycanthus.* Brackenridge had undoubtedly seen *Chimonanthus* under cultivation in the gardens of Europe; and the fact that he noticed the resemblance of the plant he saw to *Chimonanthus* is an indication of his critical faculty as a botanist, as *Chimonanthus* and *Calycanthus* are the only two known genera of the family to which they belong.

Thuya, the Oregon cedar, is also not native in California. The tree Brackenridge saw was undoubtedly *Chamaecyparis Lawsoniana,* Lawson's cypress (Port Orford cedar), whose foliage somewhat resembles that of *Thuya.* Lawson's cypress can be seen today near Shasta Springs.

The plant that he called *Mitella,* a genus of the saxifrage family, was undoubtedly *Saxifraga peltata,* also known as *Peltiphyllum peltatum.* This species has very large shield-shaped leaves which become gorgeous in the fall and in many places fringe the river. In spring the white flowers, later rose colored, occur in dense clusters and are borne on long stems originating at the base of the plant.

Some of the names given by Brackenridge were old and are no longer in use: such as *Pavia* for *Aesculus,* the buckeye. Some were misspelled – for instance, *Oreogonium* for *Eriogonum, Aurum* for *Asarum, Umbrosia* for *Ambrosia, Zauschina* for *Zauschneria.*

The most remarkable species collected by Brackenridge was the California pitcher-plant (reported by him as *Sarracenia*), which he found growing in marshy areas along the main branch of the Sacramento River on the way to Mount Eddy. His specimens, collected late in the season, were inadequate for scientific description, as they consisted only of the pitcher-like



DARLINGTONIA CALIFORNICA
Courtesy of the California Academy of Sciences

leaves, but they excited Dr. John Torrey so much that he petitioned friends to obtain blooming specimens. These were collected with much labor by Dr. G. W. Hulse and sent to Dr. Torrey, who named the plant *Darlingtonia*, in honor of Dr. William Darlington, a well-known physician and botanist of West Chester, Pennsylvania. Several genera had already been named in Darlington's honor, so that *Darlingtonia* was replaced by *Chrysamphora*, from the Greek meaning golden pitcher, being so named by Dr. E. L. Greene. However, in general usage, *Darlingtonia* persists.

The photograph on the opposite page illustrates the shape of the pitcher and the twisted tube, topped by the dome-like summit, from which flare, below, two fish-like appendages. These appendages contain nectar glands that lure insects into the dome, the interior of which is covered with downward spreading hairs. The dome has translucent spots like little windows. The prey can crawl down the hairs but it is impossible for them to return, so that eventually it is a "descent to Avernus." They sink to the bottom, where a watery fluid, exuded by the plant, catches them and gradually dissolves all their tender tissues, the decomposition producing a revolting stench. The biochemical nature of this fluid has been ably discussed by Joseph S. Hepburn, Frank Morton Jones, and Elizabeth Q. St. John in the April 1927 number of the *Transactions* of the Wagner Free Institute in Philadelphia.

The flowers of the California pitcher-plant are very lovely, with long spreading greenish-yellow sepals and dark crimson shorter petals. Each flower terminates a stem varying in length and extending, like all the pitchers, from the base of the plant.

Not having access to Brackenridge's collection at the National Herbarium, nor to Torrey's *Phanerogamia of Pacific North America* (printed in 1874 in Philadelphia as a part of Volume XVII of the Expedition's publications), the identifications are in certain instances doubtful. To John Thomas Howell, my associate in the Botany Department at the California Academy of Sciences, I am indebted for illuminating suggestions in resolving several of the plants that particularly puzzled me. Although there may be a few that are incorrectly identified, all the species in the appended list are to be found along the route. The numbers in the list correspond to those in the Journal.

LIST OF PLANTS IN BRACKENRIDGE'S JOURNAL

(California, October 1–28, 1841)

1. *Lygodesmia spinosa* Nutt.
2. *Thelypodium brachycarpum* Torr.
3. *Ribes cereum* Dougl., wild red-berried currant.
4. *Rhus trilobata* Nutt.
5. *Helianthus* sp., sunflower.

6. *Camassia* sp., known as quamash, the bulbs being eaten by the Indians.
7. *Silene occidentalis* Watson. *Lychnis* is a related genus.
8. *Spiraea Douglasii* Hook. The common pink-flowered spiraea.
9. *Cornus*, either *C. californica* C. A. Mey or *C. Nuttallii* Audubon.
10. *Eriogonum* sp. (spelled by him *Oreogonium*).
11. *Parnassia californica* (Gray) Greene, grass of Parnassus.
12. *Gentiana Amarella* L. var. *acuta* Herder.
13. *Mentzelia congesta* T. & G., small-flowered blazing star.
14. *Cleome platycarpa* Torr.
15. *Lupinus sellulus* Kell. var., low lupine.
16. *Campanula prenanthoides* Durand.
17. *Pinus Murrayana* Balf., lodge-pole pine and tamrac.
18. *Calycanthus occidentalis* H. & A., spice bush.
19. *Darlingtonia californica* Torr., California pitcher plant.
20. *Rhamnus Purshiana* (L.) DC., cascara.
21. *Aesculus californica* Nutt., California buckeye (*Pavia*).
22. *Zauschneria latifolia* Greene, mountain California fuchsia.
23. *Cercis occidentalis* Torr., red-bud.
24. *Parnassia californica* (Gray) Greene. The same as No. 11.
25. *Saxifraga peltata* Torr., or *Peltiphyllum peltatum* Engler, umbrella plant.
26. *Cypripedium* sp., lady's slipper, either *C. montanum* Dougl. or *C. californicum* Gray.
27. *Convolvulus*, morning glory, perhaps *C. atriplicifolius* House.
28. *Convolvulus*, perhaps *C. polymorphus* Greene.
29. *Quercus chrysolepis* Liebm., golden oak.
30. *Quercus Breweri* Engelm., Brewer's oak or mountain oak.
31. *Ceanothus integerrimus* H. & A., a common species.
32. *Ceanothus prostratus* Benth., mahala mats.
33. *Rhamnus californica* Esch., coffee berry.
34. *Polygala cornuta* Kell.
35. *Penstemon azureus* Benth.
36. *Viola lobata* Benth.
37. *Asarum Hartwegi* Watson, California ginger root (*Aurum*).
38. *Chamaecyparis Lawsoniana* Parl., Lawson cypress or Port Orford cedar.
39. *Castanopsis sempervirens* Dudley, chinquapin.
40. *Eriogonum nudum* Dougl. (?)
41. *Eriogonum umbellatum* Torr., sulphur flower.
42. *Cephalanthus occidentalis* L., button willow.
43. *Dendromecon rigida* Benth., golden bush-poppy.
44. *Salvia carnosa* Dougl. (*Audibertia incana* Benth.)
45. *Penstemon breviflorus* Lindl. (?), a common species.

46. *Psoralea macrostachya* DC.

47. *Psoralea orbicularis* Lindl. These are the only two species of *Psoralea* in the region.

48. *Cheilanthes* ("a neat little fern"). This is probably what he later named *Onychium densum* Brack., renamed by Hooker *Pellaea densa*, and lately renamed by Maxon *Cheilanthes siliquosa*.

49. *Woodwardia Chamissoi* Brack., perhaps named by him from these specimens. It is interesting to note that the name Brackenridge means, literally, "fern ridge," bracken being the common name of the brake (*Pteridium*).

50. *Mahonia Piperiana* Abrams, Oregon grape (a species peculiar to the region).

51. *Aristolochia californica* Torr., dutchman's pipe.

52. *Photinia arbutifolia* Lindl., christmas berry.

53. *Arabis* sp. (?)

54. *Streptanthus barbatus* Watson, jewel flower.

55. *Rhamnus crocea ilicifolia* (Kell.) Greene, red-berried coffee berry, with holly-like leaves.

56. *Pinus Sabiniana* Dougl., digger pine (nuts used by the Indians).

57. *Mimulus cardinalis* Dougl., red monkey-flower.

58. *Arbutus Menziesii* Pursh, madroño.

59. *Vitis californica* Benth., wild grape.

60. *Platanus racemosa* Nutt., sycamore.

61. *Quercus lobata* Neé, valley oak.

62. *Quercus Wislizenii* A. DC., interior live-oak.

63. *Stylocline filaginea* Gray.

64. *Acer Negundo californicum* Sargent, box elder (his *Fraxinus*).

65. *Ambrosia psilostachya* DC., ragweed.

66. *Rosa californica* Cham. & Esch., wild rose.

67. *Dipsacus fullonum* L., fuller's teasel. This is surprising, as it is an introduced species in California—perhaps by the Mission fathers for the purpose of carding wool (?).

68. *Plectritis (Valerianella)*, little valerian.

69. *Baccharis viminea* DC.

70. *Centromadia pungens* (T. & G.) Greene, spike weed.

71. *Heliotropium curassavicum* Linn., alkali heliotrope.

72. *Sagittaria latifolia* Willd., tule potato (his "ariodeous plant").

73. *Glycyrrhiza lepidota* (Nutt.) Pursh, wild liquorice (his *Cassia*).

74. *Mimulus guttatus* DC., common monkey-flower.

75. *Scirpus*, bulrush.

76. *Quercus Wislizenii* A. DC. Same as No. 62.

77. *Aesculus californica.* Same as No. 21.

78. *Zauschneria californica* Presl. California fuchsia.

79. *Astragalus leucophyllus* T. & G., bladder pod.
80. *Monardella villosa* Benth. var., pennyroyal.
81. *Opuntia megacantha* Salm-Dyck.
82. *Verbena lasiostachys* Link.
83. *Salicornia ambigua* Michx., samphire.
84. *Stachys bullata* Benth., hedge nettle.
85. *Nicotiana Bigelovii* Watson, wild tobacco.
86. *Diplacus aurantiacus* Jepson, sticky monkey-flower.
87. *Quercus agrifolia* Neé, coast live oak.
88. *Rhamnus californica* Esch., coffee berry.
89. *Leptosiphon* or *Linanthus* or *Gilia.*
90. *Solanum,* either *S. umbelliferum* Esch. or *S. Xanti* Gray.
91. *Umbellularia californica* Nutt., California laurel or bay.
92. *Grindelia camporum* Greene, gum plant.
93. *Grindelia humilis* H. & A., gum plant.
94. *Lotus scoparius* (Nutt.) Ottley, deer-weed.
95. *Erysimum capitatum* (Dougl.), western wallflower.
96. *Lupinus arboreus* Sims, yellow bush-lupine.
97. *Croton californicus* Muell.-Arg.
98. *Ceanothus thyrsiflorus* Esch., California lilac.
99. *Dudleya* sp., commonly called "hen and chickens."

California Emigrant Letters

Compiled by Walker D. Wyman

(Concluded)

VIII. LIFE IN THE MINES

How to Go to the Mines After Arriving in California

San Francisco, Apr. 1849

At first, parties would unite, purchase oxen and carts, and take up their own provisions; but now this is out of the question. A yoke of oxen such as I purchased last at $14 per yoke, are now worth $250. Hence all persons going to the mines go as far as they can by water, and take their blanket, and such necessary clothing as they have, pack it on their backs, and start for the mountains; any other mode of conveyance is out of the question, as all kinds of animals have risen from 500 to 5000 per cent. I have this day sold a mule, which I purchased last July for $8, for $360.

J. D. Stevenson, to his son-in-law, James H. Brady,
New York City
New York *Herald*, quoted by St. Joseph
Adventure, July 27, 1849

Equipment and Provisions in the Mines

San Francisco, Mar. 13, 1849

Those who go to the mines at this season of the year, take tents with them, but when the season is further advanced, no tents are taken, as it never rains. The only tools used are a round pan about eighteen inches in diameter at the bottom, a flare of three inches at the top, made very strong, and about three inches deep; a pick weighing two pounds, and a butcher's knife. When three or four work together, they have in addition to these tools, a machine first used and described in the papers last fall. At the mines, on the Sacramento tributaries, provisions have been very scarce this winter, and in some cases men have been compelled to eat their horses. There are many houses in the mines where a man can get board for two ounces a week; but miners cannot depend on that; as they travel from place to place and must be provided with provisions before getting there.

"McK."
Missouri *Republican*, June 22, 1849

Indian Trouble before Arrival of Overland Emigrants

San Francisco, June 20, 1849

There has been considerable difficulty with the Indians during the past season. About a month since, a party of them rushed upon five Americans at work upon the Middle Fork, and cruelly massacred them all. . . . A party was immediately formed, who started in pursuit of the Indians, entered their rancheria and killed some twenty, and took about forty prisoners. They were taken to the nearest settlement, and after a trial, seven of the ring-leaders were shot. There will always be trouble with the Indians in the mining region until their whole race is exterminated.

E. Gould Buffet
New York *Herald*, quoted by St. Joseph
Adventure, Aug. 31, 1849

Life in Stanislaus Diggings

Stanislaus Diggings, Jamestown

I believe my last date was up the 14th May, and I take advantage of a rare opportunity to address you again relative to the El Dorado of the age. The mining has been rather discouraging but I resume my data.

MONDAY the 14th MAY. – I have earned today only $12, and the prospects among the workies [sic] are rather disheartening. Three Americans, however, below Jamestown, took out one piece of gold worth $278!! The news flew like wild fire. Twelve California carts, with four yoke of oxen each, passed this valley last eve, and it was a scene of rural beauty I have never seen surpassed.

WEDNESDAY 16th. – Still digging with only mediocre success, as are the majority about me. The immigration for the past two days has been less than usual. Now and then, a party appears on its winding way, composed principally of Mexicans with their lances and red flags. A party of them encamped near Jamestown and hoisted a small red flag over their tent, but a deputation of Americans waited upon the gentlemen, and soon gave them to understand that such a proceeding would be looked upon as a national insult and challenge direct, and they instantly hauled the offensive banner down. This afternoon the line of march seems to be resumed, and the apparently interminable array is again in motion. One may well ask "Where do they come from? and what country is likely to be depopulated?" for some parts of the world must be thinning their ranks very rapidly.

A large party from Tepic have been hard at work for several weeks, with rather poor success till yesterday, when they struck a rich vein, yielding the first day three pounds and today two and a half pounds. Their woe begone countenances have assumed a smiling appearance, though they fear their good luck will be of short duration.

THURSDAY, MAY 17th. – The wind last night blew fiercely from the Sierra Nevada, and at daylight I found the water in my *batea* skimmed over with ice! Reports of good success among a few diggers below are current. One man is said to have taken $1,200 in one day from the *arroyo*, though it is probably exaggerated. In his immediate vicinity, others were doing little.

FRIDAY, 18th. – A cold wind prevailed last night, accompanied with hail and rain. It lasted till sunrise when it cleared – a complete change of climate in 24 hours, and all complaining of colds.

SATURDAY, 19th. – It is six weeks since I reached the mines, and they have been rendered memorable by the hardest work I have ever undergone; and what is more vexatious, it has been without its reward. Three Mexicans, however, near Wood's camp – one and a half miles below . . . took out yesterday . . . $2,200!! Adjacent to their mine, others were getting their "little ounce."

All the trees and flowers, lately so beautiful, begin to evidence the effect of the parching sun of the "dry season," and they look as if they would whisper a blessing, for one short Yankee April shower.

TUESDAY, 29th. – Scores of dispirited looking objects, are wandering up and down the *arroyo*, to-day, with their pans and picks upon their shoulders, showing plainly that their labors have not been blest with success. One would imagine that the mantle of good house-wives had fallen upon the sterner sex, and that they were all hurrying to some grand "clam bake," to which all the world except his wife, had been invited, to see the pan-armed array moving to and fro, only their looks more surely indicate a famine than a feast. Slowly the waters are still rising – they must fall before successful operations can be thought of.

Wm. Daylor
St. Joseph *Adventure*, Aug. 17, 1849

Boarding House and Camp Cooking

San Francisco, April, 1849

This labor would be more endurable, if at the close of day, he could enjoy the comforts of good food and rest, but this is out of the question. He must cook his own food, or go without it. 'Tis true that in some places boarding tents are established; but they have more than they can accomodate, and the food is rarely such as will satisfy the appetite of a fatigued and hungry man. Most of these boarding tents are kept by highly respectable people, who do all they can to make their boarders comfortable; but 'tis out of their power . . . the means are not within their reach. I have seen men living for days without any other food than flour mixed with water formed into a kind of dough and baked in the ashes. This kind of living forces them into the tavern and drinking shop, (and the diggings abound with them) where they pay from four to twelve shillings for a glass of liquor. A half box of sardines, or food of that kind, is purchased at from $8 to $10 per box, which many will eat for a supper. The result is, that living in this way produces sickness and disease, and many who come into the town with heavy purses of the precious metal are broken in health and constitution. I am advised that scurvy has broken out in some parts of the region, and is making fearful ravages. This, it is greatly to be feared, will be the case in nearly all the diggings, as neither vegetables, or other preventitives can be had at any price.

J. D. Stevenson, to his son-in-law, James H. Brady,
New York City
New York *Herald*, quoted by St. Joseph
Adventure, July 27, 1849

The High Cost of Subsistence

Dry Digginsville, Oct. 16, 1849

Provisions, although the supply is abundant, are very high in the mines. One cannot subsist here for less than two dollars per day, and even at that price his fare is course [sic]; vegitables [sic] are very scarce; potatoes one dollar per pound, cabbage one dollar, and vegitables [sic] in proportion. This is indeed a hard country to live in. Many are daily returning to the States; some rich enough, others dissatisfied, because their constitutions are unable to withstand the hardships a miner has to endure.

Wm. B. Royall
Missouri *Statesman*, January 4, 1850

Why Prices are High

San Francisco, April, 1849

During my stay at the mines, provisions on the Mocollomy [sic] were cheaper than at any other point, and there jerked, or beef dried in strips in the sun, as hard as wood, was one dollar per lb; sugar 10s . . . and at the Stanislaus and many other points, these prices were doubled. Yet, enormous as these appear, they are not more than a trader should receive to pay him for his toil and expenses; freights and transportation are enormously high. From this to the Sacramento, or any other point where goods are landed for the mines, freight is $6 per 100 lbs., and from thence to the miners, the whole charge for transportation is nearly equal to one dollar per pound. Thus, a barrel of flour costing here $14, freight to Sutters $12, and freight to the nearest mine from that point, $125, would make the flour actually cost the vendor at the mines $152 per barrel! It is the same with every other article of necessity; and yet, after paying these enormous prices the gold digger, if he be industrious, sober, and free from the vice of gambling and drinking to excess, can realize from $1,500 to $3,500 per year by his labor, over and above his expenses.

J. D. Stevenson, to his son-in-law, James H. Brady,
New York City
New York *Herald*, quoted by St. Joseph
Adventure, July 27, 1849

Mail Service in the Mines

San Francisco, Sept. 28, 1849

I am now in the great metropolis of the western side of the continent, on my first visit hither. We have almost no mail carriers in California (only from this place to a few of the large places) as Uncle Sam's prices won't pay its way here. So our diggings clubbed together and sent me down . . . for their mail, at a pay of our Congressmen's wages with the roast beef in. Yankee enterprise had already provided a steamer to ride down the Sacramento in, and I then took a sail vessel across the bays. The Sacramento is the prettiest river I ever beheld and the finest I ever saw for navigation, and large vessels go up it to Sacramento City, a distance of seventy miles and lay to and unload at the banks.

Missouri *Statesman*, quoted by
St. Joseph *Adventure*, Dec. 7, 1849

Running a Boarding House in the Mines

We have now been keeping house three weeks. I have ten boarders, two of which we board for the rent. We have one hundred and eighty-nine dollars per week for the whole. We think we can make seventy-five of it clear of all expenses, but I assure you I have to work mighty hard – I have to do all my cooking by a very small fire place, no oven, bake all my pies and bread in a dutch oven, have one small room about 14 feet square, and a little back room we use for a store room about as large as a piece of chalk. Then we have an open chamber over the whole, divided off by a cloth. The gentlemen occupy the one end, Mrs. H——— and daughter, your father and myself, the other. We have a curtain hung between our beds, but we do not take pains to draw it, as it is no use to be particular here.

The gentleman of whom we hire the house has been at housekeeping; he loaned us some few things [for furniture], but I assure you we do not go into luxuries. We sleep on a cot without any bedding or pillow except our extra clothing under our heads.

Tell Betty they have to pay twenty-five dollars for making a dress. If there was anything pleasant here I should like to have you all come immediately. But there has been no rain for three months, nor won't be for so long to come; not a green thing to be seen except a few stunted trees, and so cold we have to keep a fire to be comfortable. When you are eating corn and beans think of your poor mother, who does not get any fruit or vegetables excepting potatoes, and those eight dollars a bushel, and as soon as we are worth ten thousand I shall come home, if I do not find some pleasanter place than this . . . Mrs. H——— took some ironing to do, and what time I had I helped, and made seven dollars in as many hours. I have not been in the street since I began to keep house; I don't care to go into a house until I get ready to go home; not that I am homesick, but it is nothing but gold, gold – no social feelings – and I want to get my part and go where my eyes can rest upon some green things.

A Boarding House Keeper, formerly of Portland,
Maine, to her children
Portland *Advertizer*, quoted by Missouri
Republican, Oct. 6, 1849

Keeping a Hotel in Marysville

Marysville

I wrote you on the first of October, and also in February; the February letter, containing an account of my sickness and suffering. I am satisfied that that letter never went out of the territory, therefore I will be brief. I was taken sick with the Billious [sic] Fever, next the Intermittent Fever, and afterwards the Typhoid Fever, and was unable to do anything until last February. My Doctor's bills were large, boarding $38 per week which came near breaking me. I am keeping a large Hotel. – The Hotel of the City. Williams and I are still in partnership; we made about a thousand dollars apiece last month. I pay $800 per month for rent, $360 per month for bar keeper, $300 per month for first cook, $250 per month for second cook, $150 apiece for third and fourth cook – being upwards of two thousand dollars per month for rent and servants. My charge for board is $33 per week, $5.50 per day. $2 for a single meal, and 25 cents for liquor.

I expect to clear, in the fall and winter, about fifteen or twenty thousand dollars, then I shall return to the States. I could have returned this summer, with "my pile," if I had not taken sick.

A. D. McDonald, to his brother, O. G. McDonald,
Plattsburg, Missouri
St. Joseph *Adventure*, July 5, 1850

Woman Baker in California

"I have made about $18,000 worth of pies – about one third of this has been clear profit. One year I dragged my own wood off the mountains and chopped it, and I have never had so much as a child to take a step for me in this country. $11,000 I baked in one little iron skillet, a considerable portion by a campfire, without the shelter of a tree from the broiling sun. But now I have a good many 'Robinson Crusoe' comforts about me . . . I bake about 1,200 pies per month and clear $200 . . . I intend to leave off work the coming spring, and give my business into the hands of my sister-in-law. Not that I am rich, but I need little, and have none to toil for but myself. . . ."

Boston *Traveler*, quoted by
Merchant's Magazine and Commercial Review, 1852, XXVI, p. 777

Wintering in the Mines

Rio Rico Mines, Feb. 12, 1850

After remaining in the city for a few days, looking at the natives and taking items, I again, in company with two other men, made up an outfit for wintering in the mines. We purchased a wagon and three yoke of oxen, a good tent, loaded with provisions, mining tools, etc., and embarked for the Rio Saco mines, where I am now writing. It had been raining almost incessantly for several days previous, and the roads were becoming very bad, so much so that we were advised by teamsters, whom we met after leaving town, to turn about and return again – that we could not possibly reach the mines – we would certainly mire down and lose our entire loading and team. We were however determined to make the attempt, win or lose, – and we did win, but with the utmost difficulty. We were 6 days traveling 10 miles, the distance from Sacramento to these mines. We immediately pitched our tent on a suitable location, sold our team, purchased a gold-washing machine, for which we paid $40, and commenced operations in the mines. Up to the present date we have succeeded tolerably well, but are, as yet, far from being rich. Our average is about $10 per diem, while many others have not made more than a hundred dollars clear of expenses, during the whole season. Thus goes gold mining.

W. A. George
Missouri *Republican*, Apr. 19, 1850

The Routine of Mining

Rio Rico Mines, Feb. 12, 1850

My stay in Sacramento City, when I first reached it, about the first of August, was but short. Being ambitious to know what "gold digging" was, I made all haste to get off to the mines. I sold my wagon and team for one thousand dollars, purchased a small supply of provisions, some mining tools, etc. and embarked for the Monocolumne [sic] river mines. Sixty miles southeast of Sutter's Fort, near the spurs of the Sierra Nevada, I paid a teamster to transport my freight to the point, $18 per cwt., the current price at that time. When I reached the mines I found gold digging to be anything but a pleasant business, particularly at that season. The weather was so excessively hot that the miners, as a general thing, suspended work from 10:00 A. M. to 3:00 P. M., in the day. Much sickness prevailed, with frequent deaths. Many men who came to the mines and did not immediately succeed . . . [became] disheartened and discouraged with gold mining, and determined to seek some other employment or return home. This is invariably the case with those who have never been accustomed to hard work. Gold mining is a business which requires industry, patience, and above all, a strong constitution and unimpaired health, with a total disregard of exposure, such as that to the perpendicular rays of the sun in the "blistering season," which generally commences in March, and continues until October, or to the gentle showers of the wet season, which are very frequent, and sometimes not of short duration. During this latter season the miners are unavoidably much exposed; many live in tents, with but scanty bedding to protect them from the dampness of the ground upon which they sleep. At work they are frequently obliged to stand in water up to their knees, which produces chills, cramps, and rheumatism; and not withstanding all this exposure to disease and death, all this hard and fatiguing labor, the miners, as a general thing, do not average more than $8 per diem. . . .

W. A. George
Missouri *Republican*, Apr. 19, 1850

A Miner's Life

California, November 10, 1850

A miner's life, I think, is the hardest in the world. On arriving in the country, he gathers all the information he can, as to the best place to settle, buys his tools and provisions for a week or two, and hires a wagon to take them and his clothing to the mines, going himself afoot from 50 to 100 miles. When he gets in the neighborhood of the place, he will meet a great many with their washers, picks, shovels, clothing and camp equipage on their backs, just leaving the place, and hunting other diggings. He goes on into the neighborhood of the place, or as near as he can with the wagon, when he must pack his things the balance of the way (some 4 or 5 miles) over almost perpendicular mountains, on his back, making some three or four trips to do it; finally he gets his trumpery landed under some trees, as near the diggings as he can that is not occupied by some other person. He next sets about hunting some place to dig in the bends of the river, (called bars) and if not lucky enough to hit on some place where the gold has been deposited under ground, (and about which, from the appearance of the ground, he can make no calculations,) he may dig all day, and at night he may have one, two or three dollars – digging, prying away the large rocks, that have been rolling off for centuries from the sides of the mountains, into the streams – while the sun pours down in rays with a power he never before felt – surrounded all the time by strangers who care nothing for him, nor he for them – night comes on, and he goes to his tree, cooks his supper, spreads his blanket on the ground, and goes to sleep; gets up in the morning out of the dust, cooks his breakfast, and goes to work as before, not stopping except to get his dinner, which consists of bread and pickled pork, and occasionally potatoes, which cost him 20 cents per pound, or onions, which cost 90 cents per pound, comes in at night with probably some luck, may be better, may be worse. He works on that way for three or four days, and finding his hole won't pay he hunts another place, throws off three or four or five feet of the top rock and dirt, and tries his new hole, finds out it won't do – hunts a third, and so on, every time he moves; moving his rocker and frame to rock it on, to the side of the river as near his claim as he can, carrying the dirt to it in buckets, over the holes that others have dug, and the rock and dirt they have thrown up, he finds out, (unless lucky) that none of his holes will pay, and seeing no other spot, but what has been dug up, or prospected, (which is digging a hole in the ground to see whether there is any gold underneath or not) he probably hears of some other place, some 10 or 15 miles off where the miners are doing remarkably well, and it comes so straight from those he has been acquainted with, and who has a partner that has just come from there. He sells off as much of his plunder as he can at half price, puts a mule's load on his back, leaving the balance to take care of itself, and starts off over the mountains, hills and rocks, without road, chart or compass, and finally after much toil and labor gets in the neighborhood of the new diggings, and meets twenty or thirty men loaded like himself, finds out that they are from the very place he is hunting; asks how the miners are doing, and is told that a few are doing very well, but the great majority are not more than clearing expenses, asks them where they are going, they will tell him of some extraordinary place, or probably they are going to the very place he left. Such is gold hunting in California. But he goes on to his new diggings, hunts another tree to shield him from the sun, deposits his load and recruits his wasted store of plunder at a high price, and goes to work as before, with probably the same success – takes the diarrhea (as nearly every one does) gets well in three or four weeks, or well enough to do half work, goes to work, and takes it again, or dies and is buried somewhere close by, by some one who don't know his name, for no one knows the name of another in California, although well acquainted.

His friends at home hear nothing from him, until absence and silence force them to believe that their child, or father, or husband, has been buried far from home, where the tear of affection can never be shed over his grave, or the spot told on which he lies.

If a miner, however, happens to have the good luck to hit on a rich spot, he may make a handsome sum in a few weeks, – in which case he writes back to his friends at home, probably adding a little to the amount he has dug, from what he expects to dig; which flies through the neighborhood or is published in the papers, and starts out the next season 50 or 100 more, to be disappointed as thousands here now are, and whose voices are not heard at home. The reason that they will not write back is that they are in hopes that their luck may change, and that they may have something pleasant to tell. You may think that this is giving too dark a coloring on the black side, but it is what I have found to be true.

A. M. Williams, to his father
Missouri *Courier*, quoted by the St.
Joseph *Adventure*, Feb. 21, 1851

Sickness in the Mines

Sacramento City, Nov. 18, 1849

The amount of sickness on the rivers this season, has been very great, and but a small part of it, in my opinion, is to be ascribed to the excesses of any kind. All new countries, it is known, breed fever and ague, and this is especially the case here where, before the rains came on, the miner was exposed to intense heat during the day and frequently cold under double blankets at night. The water of many of the rivers occasions diahoea [sic] to those who drink it, and scarcely one out of a hundred emigrants escapes an attack of this complaint.

"B. T."
New York *Tribune*, quoted by St. Joseph
Adventure, Feb. 15, 1850

Health Among the Miners

Placerville, Mar. 25, 1850

There has been one death this winter among us (the Boone County, Missouri, emigrants) as far as we have learned. . . . We have been comparatively healthy. Many companies have lost a third of their number; the diseases have generally been more fatal with those companies that came around the Horn. The companies that came across the plains have been more hardy and stout, owing to their being inured to the hardships by the fatigues of the trip.

Wm. B. Royall
Weekly Missouri *Statesman*, May 24, 1850

Health in Dry Diggins

Dry Diggins City, Oct. 25, 1849

It has been somewhat unhealthy here for the past few weeks. The prevailing disease has been diarrhoea and scurvy. A number of people are now complaining of bad colds. Three or four deaths have occured [sic] from scurvy. It is almost impossible to obtain any vegetables here. . . . This is the first time in my life I have seen vegetables retail by the pound. The man who purchases a bushel is looked upon as a heavy operator! It is not to be wondered at, then, that those just arrived from the sea or plains should suffer from scurvy.

"Mifflin" to the St. Louis *Reveille*, quoted by
St. Joseph *Adventure*, Feb. 8, 1850

How to Prevent Sickness in the Mines

San Francisco, April, 1849

Much sickness and suffering are anticipated in the mines this season, and my opinion is that such will be the case; for the sun, when I was there in mid-winter was excessive at mid-day, and the nights freezing cold; and I cannot doubt but, exposed as the miners generally must be, that many who go to them with high hopes will never return, or if they do, they will return broken entirely in consitution. The only preventative of these fatal results, in my judgment, will be total abstinence from liquor, prudence in living, and great care in protecting the body from sudden changes in temperature

– these and every other precaution that can be used, may save a man from sickness and disease; whereas, carelessness or disipated [sic] living will insure it. These, my dear friend, are some of the toils and inconveniences of a miner's life in California; but they are by no means the only ones.

J. D. Stevenson, to his son-in-law, James H. Brady,
New York City
New York *Herald*, quoted by St. Joseph
Adventure, July 27, 1849

A Missourian Prefers California's Climate to Missouri's

Dry Diggings, Feb. 11, 1850

The winter is now considered as about over here. Indeed we have had no winter when compared to poor frozen Missouri. The peaks of the mountains have been covered with snow for three months, but here at the base of the highest of them snow has at no time been above six inches deep, and that only for a very short time.

I consider this a pleasant climate, and here in the mining district more healthy than in Missouri. I cannot speak of the lower portion of this country, as I have not visited it, but I am inclined to believe it more healthy, anywhere than Missouri.

Simeon Switzler
Weekly Missouri *Statesman*, April 26, 1850

Ill Health in the Mines

Sutter's Fort, Jan. 24, 1850

I sit down to give you a little matter which may be *pro bono publico*. . . . Of the health, I have to say it is bad enough – I mean there is enough of sickness and deaths. I have conversed with several intelligent men, and their opinion is, that one third of all who crossed the mountains have lost their health, for months at least – how many have died since their arrival, I can form no correct estimate, for want of data. The number of deaths in the town of Sacramento, and about this Fort alone, have probably averaged 18 or 20 per day, for the last five months. How many have died in the mines, I can give no account; but the sickness in the mines since the first of November has been less in proportion than at Sacramento and vicinity. The diseases most common are the scurvy, complexed with rheumatism, dysentery, and typhus fever. I am not speaking of the country three hundred miles south of us – for there, I suppose, it is more healthy than Sacramento City. The cause of so much sickness is referable to the multitude of emigrants who have been living in tents, and sleeping on the ground – and the rainy season has been long and severe; not over yet, and it set in on the first of November. Another cause of the sickness is the hardship, exposure, anxiety, and irritation which the emigrant has to undergo in crossing the plains. . . .

Another cause of disease is, that the people all use too much animal food, on account of the paucity of vegetables in this country, and the consequent high price – for instance, potatoes are worth $25 per 100 lbs., and have been worth since I came here $50 per 100 lbs.; apple and peach fruit is worth from 75c to $1 per lb.; pickles $4 to $5 per gallon. Pickled pork, beans, and rice are the cheapest articles of diet here, yet less of them are used than anything else, because they are not fashionable.

"M. M." to Chambers and Knapp
Missouri *Republican*, Mar. 22, 1850

Physicians in California

Dry Digginsville, Oct. 16, 1849

Physicians are all making fortunes in this country; they will hardly look at a man's tongue for less than an ounce of gold! I have known Doctors, although they are scarcely worthy of the title, (for the most of them here are quacks) charge a patient as much as one hundred dollars for one visit and prescription. Our friend, Dr. Lenoir, has a Hospital at a little village called Coloma. His profits are not less than thirty dollars per day. He will doubtless amass a large fortune.

Wm. B. Royall
Missouri *Statesman*, Jan. 4, 1850

IX. LIFE IN THE COASTAL CITIES OF CALIFORNIA

Business Prospects for 1849 in California

San Francisco, April, 1849

From all the accounts we receive from the States, large quantities of goods must be coming out here; and I apprehend the shippers will suffer severe losses. I hope not; but I do assure you that there is great danger, large as the population will be in this country, that they cannot consume, for a long time, the quantity of goods said to be on the way; and, although we are in the midst of the gold region, where men set as little value upon money as in any part of the world, yet, at this time, gold dust is valued at $16 the ounce, and can be loaned out to some of the best merchantile houses in San Francisco at from two to five per cent per month, and that, too secured upon bond and mortgage of improved real estate, worth double the amount. This, you are well aware, no business will justify, especially when you add to it the enormous expense of transacting business of every kind. At this time, laboring men in stores get $125 per month; negro cooks, $125; boys, to clean boots and knives, $60; a woman servant, Indian or Chilian, from $40 to $60; washing, $6 per dozen. . . .

J. D. Stevenson, to his son-in-law, James H. Brady,
New York City
New York *Herald*, quoted by St. Joseph
Adventure, July 27, 1849

Market Conditions in San Francisco

San Francisco, April 6, 1849

San Francisco, the point of rendezvous, presents a strange aspect. The streets are crowded with people of all nations. Every house, every shanty, every tent is full.

Auctioneers and merchants are busy. However, the price of goods, of every description, is falling rapidly, and it is feared that the market will soon be glutted. It is believed that heavy losses will be sustained by those sending or bringing in cargoes from abroad. The market is exceedingly fluctuating. Hams which sold for more than one dollar per pound, at auction, three months ago, were sold last week at twenty-seven cents; brandy, which brought eight dollars per gallon, was sold lately at two dollars; blankets, for which we gave fifty dollars per pair, in the month of December, were sold a few days since for five; and I purchased salt beef for six dollars per barrel this morning. Clothing is, also, very low. There are many things, however, which still command an exorbitant price, and among them I will cite lumber, which sells now for six hundred dollars per one thousand feet! With our increasing population, and the towns rising like exhalations in every part of the country, the demand for building materials must continue. Bricks, lumber, and houses ready to be put together, will, for a long time to come, command ready sales and good prices.

"V. J. F."
Missouri *Republican*, June 22, 1849

New Helvetia

Sacramento City, Aug. 7, 1849

We have been here at this camp, half a mile from Sacramento City, (which is on the map New Helvetia, and 3 miles below Sutter's fort) 4 or 5 days. The town is going up rapidly, some few frame buildings, but most of them are canvass [sic] houses, some with stakes drove into the ground or small frames, and the canvas drawn over them; and many of them have their tents stretched. Goods and provisions are scattered from one end to the other. Town lots rate very high, from $1,000 to $10,000; rents are enormous. The St. Louis Exchange, a hotel kept in a very ordinary concern for a public house rents for $1,000 per month. Most every shanty here is either a doggery and provisions store, or a provision store. There are 6 or 8 schooners lying at the river ever since I have been here, and I am told a great many are due here; there are extensive auction sales every day, several houses of that kind in the town now, they auction things off from the vessels. . . .

There are lots of doctors and lawyers got their "shingles" stuck out here; the town is or soon will be perfectly run over with them – a fellow will stretch his tent here and mark over it, "Hospital."

D. H. Moss to his relatives
Paris (Missouri) *Mercury*, quoted by
St. Joseph *Adventure*, Nov. 2, 1849

The Rise of Sacramento

Sacramento City, Aug. 17, 1849

Several places are growing up into great commercial cities. For instance: this place is eight weeks old and it now has upwards of 1,000 houses, wholesale and retail stores, daily auction houses; in fact it has every appearance of a flourishing city. Fifty or sixty ships lying in the Sacramento river at this time, and many more looked for soon. Sacramento City is beautifully laid out on this river, in a delightful valley; the location in every respect suitable for a large and beautiful city. The houses are principally made of canvass [sic] cloth, though there are going up a great many fine frame buildings. The sound of the hammer and saw is heard in every direction. You can form no correct idea how things appear, indeed it is more like a romance or dream than reality. For instance: yesterday we drove our teams into the streets about 9 o'clock in the morning; they stood there perhaps two hours. We then turned them round and drove them to the shade, in the evening of the same day I passed along, and on the very ground there stood a Baker's shop in full operation selling bread and receiving the money for it!

Wm. L. Schooling
Missouri *Statesman*, Sept. 26, 1849

Prices of Goods and Provisions before the Arrival of the Overland Emigrants

San Francisco, Mar. 13, 1849

From all that I can learn, the traders and merchants at this place, make more money than the miners do. Goods sell enormously high here, but I am told that everything is four hundred per cent higher at the mines. The price of a passage to Stockton on the San Joaquin is thirty dollars, and eight dollars per hundred for freight, from Stockton to the Stanislaus diggings at sixty miles. You have either to buy a horse at three hundred dollars or pay sixty dollars per hundred, and walk from there to the diggings.

Provisions are very high, although extremely plentiful in the country, the citizens are either too lazy or too rich to go after or bring them to market. Wood, although plenty in sight, costs thirty dollars per cord when delivered at the door; eggs sell for three dollars per dozen, beef twenty-five cents per pound; flour twenty-five dollars per bbl.; soap fifty cents per pound; pork and beef forty dollars per bbl.; butter two dollars per lb.; cheese one dollar per lb.; salt fifty cents per lb.

When we arrived goods were much higher than at present. Owing to the number of passengers there were few goods brought on the steamer, but even the small quantity that were brought tended to reduce the price. Good boots bring an ounce a pair; shoes $12; fine cloth coats $60; pantaloons $20; hats, which cost $20 per dozen in New Orleans, sell here for $10 a piece, and everything in proportion; Allen's revolvers $100; Colt's $200 to $300.

Lumber brought from Oregon is selling at four hundred dollars per thousand, and very scarce at that. Common day laborers will not work during the rainy season for less than an ounce a day, and during the mining season men can't be had at all. Merchants are compelled to pack their own boxes from the shore. Wagons and carts sell enormously high when sold at all – wagons being worth eight hundred dollars, the carts from two to five hundred dollars – horses three hundred – Spanish saddles sell for one hundred, and American saddles for twenty dollars.

It is the prevailing opinion here that goods of all descriptions as well as everything else, will be as low as they can be in the states, as soon as the different vessels arrive, that are now on their way.

"McK."
Missouri *Republican*, June 22, 1849

Real Estate Boom in San Francisco

San Francisco, Mar. 13, 1849

But while everything in the way of provisions is bringing two or three hundred per cent, real estate has increased more than a thousand. Lots, which two years ago sold for fifteen dollars, cannot be bought now for less than ten thousand. One young man who came here poor two years since, is now worth two hundred thousand dollars, partly from the rise of real estate, and partly by keeping a hotel. He has sold his lease of the house, four months to run, for sixteen thousand dollars, and is now about finishing a house which will cost about one hundred thousand dollars.

"McK."
Missouri *Republican*, June 22, 1849

Sacramento Booms

Rio Saco Mines, Feb. 12, 1850

The city, when I reached it, contained but two houses of wood entire, the remainder were built of mud, canvas, cotton fabrics, etc., and taking all into consideration, houses of wood, mud, tents, awnings, etc., they did not number more than fifty. When I last was in it, November last, three months having elapsed since I first entered it, it contained upwards of a thousand houses – one of zinc, and several hundreds of wood, large, commodious, and comfortable. The City Hotel, the St. Louis Exchange, the United States Hotel, and the American House, were the principal public houses. There was one theatre, one printing office, which published "Placer Times" . . . two bowling alleys, and many gambling houses, such as "The Plains," "The Shades," "The Round Tent," "The Gondola," etc. etc. One of the hotels rents at $35,000 per annum. One of the bowling alleys at $1,000 per month, and the gambling houses at $300 to $500 per month.

W. A. George
Missouri *Republican*, Apr. 19, 1850

Board and Room in San Francisco

San Francisco, April, 1849

I am paying $64 per month for my board, $40 for my bed-room, and every other necessary convenience in the same proportion. No man can live here as well as he can live at home, in a respectable mechanic's boardinghouse, for $150 per month.

J. D. Stevenson, to his son-in-law, James H. Brady,
New York City
New York *Herald*, quoted by St. Joseph
Adventure, July 27, 1849

Prices Rise in Sacramento

Rio Saco Mines, Feb. 12, 1850

During the Summer and Fall, flour sold at the Embarcadaro at $8 per cwt., pork at $15 do, sugar and coffee $12 do, and other articles in proportion. At the commencement of the wet season, about the first of November, when the miners were about to lay in their winter stock, flour rose in a few days from $8 to $25 per cwt.; pork from $15 to $30 do; coffee and sugar to $25 do; eggs $6 per dozen; potatoes $75 per cwt. Charge for boarding from $21 to $25 per week, single meal $1.50, lodging $1 per night, washing $6 per dozen. Theatre, grand performance, advertised for the night of the 8th of November; a farce headed the program; admittance, boxed, $3, pit $2.

W. A. George
Missouri *Republican*, Apr. 19, 1850

Prices at Sutter's Mill

Colloma [sic], Aug. 15, 1849

Money is the least value of all commodities, and nothing scarcely sells for less than one dollar. I paid $2 for my first supper, though I assure you that it was a big supper if not a good one. Watermelons are from $2 to 20; peaches $1 each; potatoes $1 per lb.; washing 75c to $1 per piece; picks and crow-bars $8; tin pans $8; bacon 50c per lb.; cheese $1 per lb.; sugar (in mines) 40c per lb.; coffee same; fresh beef 50c per lb.; plank 40c per foot.

"Old Boone"
Alta California, quoted by Missouri
Statesman, Oct. 26, 1849

California Arithmetic

Sutter's Mill, Aug. 20, 1849

Everything is remarkably high. Dollars and cents are scarcely reckoned; in fact ounces and pounds are only known in the California arithmetic. I was amused at the remark of a little boy the other day, when being asked by an emigrant the price of some trifling article. The boy answered a dollar.

The emigrant was astonished at the price; the boy said: "stranger, did you know that everything was a dollar here?"

Flour is worth thirty cts. per lb., but at Sacramento City, a distance of 45 miles, flour can be bought at $15 a bbl.; Pork sixty dollars per bbl. Now you can form some idea of the cost of transportation and the price of labor. . . . I have just heard from some of our mess, who were sent to Sacramento City to dispose of our wagons and spare animals, for some mules we are obliged to keep to pack provisions. The wagon and six mules in which I had an interest sold for eight hundred dollars, nearly double the cost. . . . Board in this place is five dollars a day; we board ourselves at the cost of about one dollar per day.

W. B. Royall
Missouri *Statesman*, Oct. 26, 1849

Prices in San Francisco

Good Beef and veal sell at eighteen cents per pound, mutton and pork half a dollar [per] pound; butter half a dollar. Potatoes 12 cents per pound; carrots and turnips 12 cents a bunch; . . . fowls four dollars a couple. Eggs three dollars a dozen. The climate is unfavorable to meat. Butchers throw away large quantities every morning, but they will not undersell.

"Storeman in San Francisco"
St. Joseph *Adventure*, Oct. 10, 1851

Employment and Education in San Francisco, 1851

The wife of one of the richest bankers here on being asked how she liked San Francisco, replied, "Very much if I could keep my servant."

Servants can scarcely be obtained at any price. One hundred dollars a month, are considered low wages. Milliners, mantaumakers, washerwomen, have fine chances, and are in constant employ. Instruction is little valued, and what is termed in Europe education of a high order, is quite unknown here. A few common schools are now being formed and have great prospects, as the number of children lately arrived is very great and cheering!

"Storeman in San Francisco"
St. Joseph *Adventure*, Oct. 10, 1849

Discomforts in San Francisco

As a residence San Francisco is fraught with discomfort. Even the very simple pleasure of what is termed taking a walk, is in a sense denied. The high winds, and constant dust, together with the broken planks, render walking, if not dangerous, exceedingly disagreeable. In the house flies swarm to such an extent that it is impossible to read with any degree of attention. Fleas are so numerous as to be an intolerable nuisance.

"Storeman in San Francisco"
St. Joseph *Adventure*, Oct. 9, 1849

Wives in San Francisco

The all important and most interesting subject here, is the arrival of the ladies; and it certainly deserves mature consideration. The journey is long, perilous and expensive. Even when safely accomplished new difficulties arise; house rent is high, servants are not easily obtained, and many men cannot afford to maintain their wives here. On this account, many ladies have returned home. Then again, women are placed under the cruel necessity of choosing between husbands and children, the latter being left in the state [from which they came], either for education or economy; and thus are deprived of Heaven's choicest blessing, parental care! Home influence is unknown in San Francisco and it is a question whether the Almighty in His great wisdom did not cause the discovery of gold here rather as a curse than as a blessing.

"Storeman in San Francisco"
St. Joseph *Adventure*, Oct. 10, 1849

Foreigners in San Francisco

People flock here from all parts of the globe; they expect on landing to find gold in the streets; there is something almost ridiculous in the various modes of expressing disappointment . . . There is no doubt perserverance and industry find their reward; while idleness engenders misery and disease.

The great influx of Chinese labor lately arrived, give a strange appearance to the city. They are laborious, quiet and inoffensive. They horde together, carry on a commerce, and may be considered an acquisition. They wash and iron extremely well.

Mexicans are numerous, and Mexican ladies are extremely graceful and obliging; their costume is exceedingly pretty and becoming. Many females came here to establish boarding houses. French women have the greatest success, but house rent and servant's wages necessarly [sic] cause the price to be high.

"Storeman in San Francisco"
St. Joseph *Adventure*, Oct. 10, 1851

Nobility in San Francisco

A French nobleman and his interesting wife, who lost their fortunes in the revolution of 1848, hurried to this El Dorado. He is a man of elevated mind and fine talents. His present resources is to drive a water cart. His lady takes in washing, a most lucrative employment here. After a day's hard labor she sometimes comes to me and plays on the piano forte. An Italian Count of distinguished mind and manners, cleans shoes on the Plaza; his hands beautifully white, his demeanor aristocratic.

"Storeman in San Francisco"
St. Joseph *Adventure*, Oct. 10, 1851

San Francisco — A Cosmopolitan Bee Hive

San Francisco

A "bee hive" is the best comparison for the town of "San Francisco." To define who is "king bee" would puzzle a smarter fellow than ever emanated from the "Philadelphia bar" . . . What a strange medley is the composition of the population located here — by far the largest portion are the citizens of the "old States," but every part of Europe is represented, as well as Africa and Asia — all classes and conditions. I meet every day men who, at home, were esteemed wealthy, and many that I know have been — those who have led the fashions, gave morning concerts at gilded salons, and first Dilletanti at the opera, active merchants, etc. — now bustling about in all the eagerness of trade, leaving behind them the enjoyments of the social circle, family, friends and comfortable quarters to carry on business in a shanty or canvas house, enduring all sorts of privations, and in many instances, forced to do their own "pulling and hauling"; then there are hosts of speculators in real estate, brokers in gold dust, "black legs," and broken down gentlemen — all bent upon one sole subject — "gold." "But where the honey is there you will find the bees." — and, by the way, judging from the number of gambling establishments about town, and the high rates they pay for room hire, they are the ones who will pocket all the loose gold.

New York *Herald*, quoted by St. Joseph
Adventure, Nov. 9, 1849

Meeting a Boat for the Mail

San Francisco, Aug. 31, 1852

Those who have never witnessed it are scarcely competent to comprehend the intense excitement produced in this city by the arrival of each steamer from the Isthmus. This does not arise so much from an eagerness to hear the latest news on general subjects, as from an anxious desire to hear from distant kindred and friends, and still more, from the reunion on the arrival of the steamer, of husbands and wives, and children, or other near relatives, who have been long separated. I know of no more touching spectacle than to stand upon the crowded wharf, as the steamer approaches it, and to watch the eager countenances both on the vessel and on the shore, as each strains his eyes to catch the glimpse of some long absent and beloved form, soon to be clasped in an affectionate embrace. The ship scarcely touches the landing, until the impatient crowd rushes, pell-mell on board, and then comes the hurried inquiry, the eager search for familiar faces, and at last the tearful eye and the fond embrace, amidst sobs of joy. On one side, may be seen a husband and wife, clasped in each others arms and with hearts too full for utterance. On another, a father almost suffocating a child with his caresses, whilst near to them, are a brother and sister, who can evince their joy only in broken, half uttered sentences. On the other hand, there may be seen on such occasions, some instances of the keenest disappointment and the most overwhelming grief. The long expected one perhaps has fallen a victim to the dread Panama fever, or if still amongst the living, arrives on a sick couch, enfeebled and emaciated, or it may be, that the wanderer who has sought these distant shores, to rejoin a husband, a father, or a son learns on arriving here, that the long voyage has proven a fruitless pilgrimage and that remorseless death has already claimed its victim. Such occurrences are by no means infrequent, and the settlement of California has separated so many families, who are now again being reunited on this distant coast, that it is not difficult to understand, why in this country, the arrival of a steamer is fraught with such unusual interest. Then too, almost every man woman and child, expects or at least hopes, to have letters from far distant relatives and friends. Long before the mail is distributed and ready for delivery, crowds assembled around the post office, and form themselves into long lines leading to the several places of delivery, so that each may be served in turn. On the receipt of letters, one will hurriedly break the seals and lean against a wall or post to read them, whilst another will gaze again and again, at the superscription apparently afraid to open it, for fear it may contain unwelcome tidings. On the whole the arrival of a steamer at San Francisco, is an event of more importance than at any other spot on the globe.

St. Joseph *Adventure*, Nov. 5, 1852,
quoting a St. Louis newspaper

Selling Out Upon Arrival

Sacramento City, Sept. 29, 1852

Times are dull here and will be for a month or two, as the dry diggings cannot be worked until the rainy season comes on, which is looked for in about that time. I got through in good health, as did all our train since we left the Big Blue; up to then we had a serious time by sickness . . . I had good luck in getting our stock through, and our large wagons which were laughed at when we started; they are the right kind to sell in this part of the country; we have sold some at $450 a piece, and have no doubt but we will be able to sell the others for fully as good prices. Work cattle that come across the plains this season are worth about $150 per yoke, good dry cows can be sold [for] $65 each, large horses about $250 each, large mules are worth from $200 to $300 each, when small ones will not sell for anything worth speaking of.

Living is high, board $12 a week, and all things else in proportion, except clothing, which can be had on fair terms.

E. H. Perry, formerly of St. Joseph, to
Captain John H. Whitehead of that city
St. Joseph *Adventure*, Nov. 26, 1852

X. LAW, ORDER AND RELIGION

An Honest Country

Colloma [sic], Aug. 15, 1849

The country is in a quiet condition, and property and persons are entirely safe. We hear of no murders or robbing, and thieving is very rare. Houses and whole Towns are built by sitting up posts and weatherboarding and roofing with white domestic, as there is nothing to ward off the sun and dust, till the rainy season comes and by then all expect to be rich or at home. Under these shells splendid stores and groceries are spread out and merchandise lays scattered around out doors in day and night, with the Indian, African, Chinese, Chilean and all other races passing to and fro. No man scarcely steals when on his discovery he knows he will swing, and when at the same time he can go to the nearest rivulet and pick up perhaps $16 per day, without risk. And from the same easy acquisition, any man though an entire stranger can go to a merchant and buy plenty of goods on credit. Honor and that alone is confided in him, and it is the most honest country I ever knew in my life, men watch nothing but gold and scarcely that. And single individuals ramble about and travel the roads day and night with more or less money (for all have money here) unarmed and unhurt.

"Old Boone"
Alta California, quoted by Missouri
Statesman, Oct. 26, 1849

Temptations Surrounding a Young Miner

San Francisco, April, 1849

Let no man flatter himself that gold is to be gathered without toil and peril; toil the most severe must be endured, and peril of life, health, good morals, and habits hourly surround them; and many who leave their homes, pure and good, free from the terrible vices of gambling and drunkenness may return (if indeed they ever do return) with gold, but without those possessions infinitely more valuable than gold, or diamonds to the man, his family, or his country. No one but those who have witnessed it, can form the least idea of the perils and temptations that surround all, and more especially the young and inexperienced. When the day of toil is over, they have no home or social circle to enter. The tavern tent is the resort of all, here the cards are the only books that are to be found, or looked into. At first they drink and play lightly; but if successful, the thirst increases, stakes are doubled, more liquor drank, and many seek their bed (mother earth and a blank – few have any other) with aching heads and empty purses. The latter is regarded as of little importance, when from $20 to $50 can be earned by the next day's toil. Many avoid gambling at the mines, who fall into the vice when they come here and into other towns; they find themselves suddenly possessed with more wealth than they ever had before; as they have no home but the bar room, the gambling table is the resort for excitement and amusement, and a few days finds them like a sailor returned from a long voyage, and at the end of his frolic, "cleaned out," and ready to embark for the golden ocean.

J. D. Stevenson, to his son-in-law, James H. Brady,
New York City
New York *Herald*, quoted by St. Joseph
Adventure, July 27, 1849

Night Life in a California City

What would you think to see every house around the Park an open gambling house, monte tables in each corner – faro, A. B. C., and roulette and numberless French games in the center; a splendidly stocked bar – a band of musicians to entertain the crowds, who throng these places so densely, that you find it difficult to press your way through to get near a table. Abandoned women visit these places openly. I saw one the other evening sitting quietly at the monte-table, dressed in white pants, blue coat, and cloth cap, curls dangling over her cheeks, cigar in her mouth and a glass of punch at her side. She handled a pile of doubloons with her blue kid gloved hands, and bet most boldly. One man approached a faro table, staked a hundred dollars and won seventeen hundred in fifteen minutes. Next day I saw him running from friend to friend to borrow fifty dollars. He was broke.

Missouri *Statesman*, Dec. 14, 1849

Law and Order in San Francisco

San Francisco

The police, at the head of which is Malachi Fallon – once keeper of the New York "Tombs" – is excellent; and I have rarely met with a more orderly community, though a murder was commited [sic] a few days ago, a short distance from this town – one Frenchman having killed another. The supposed murderer is in confinement on board the U. S. Ship Warren, for safe keeping.

New York *Herald*, quoted by St. Joseph
Adventure, Nov. 9, 1849

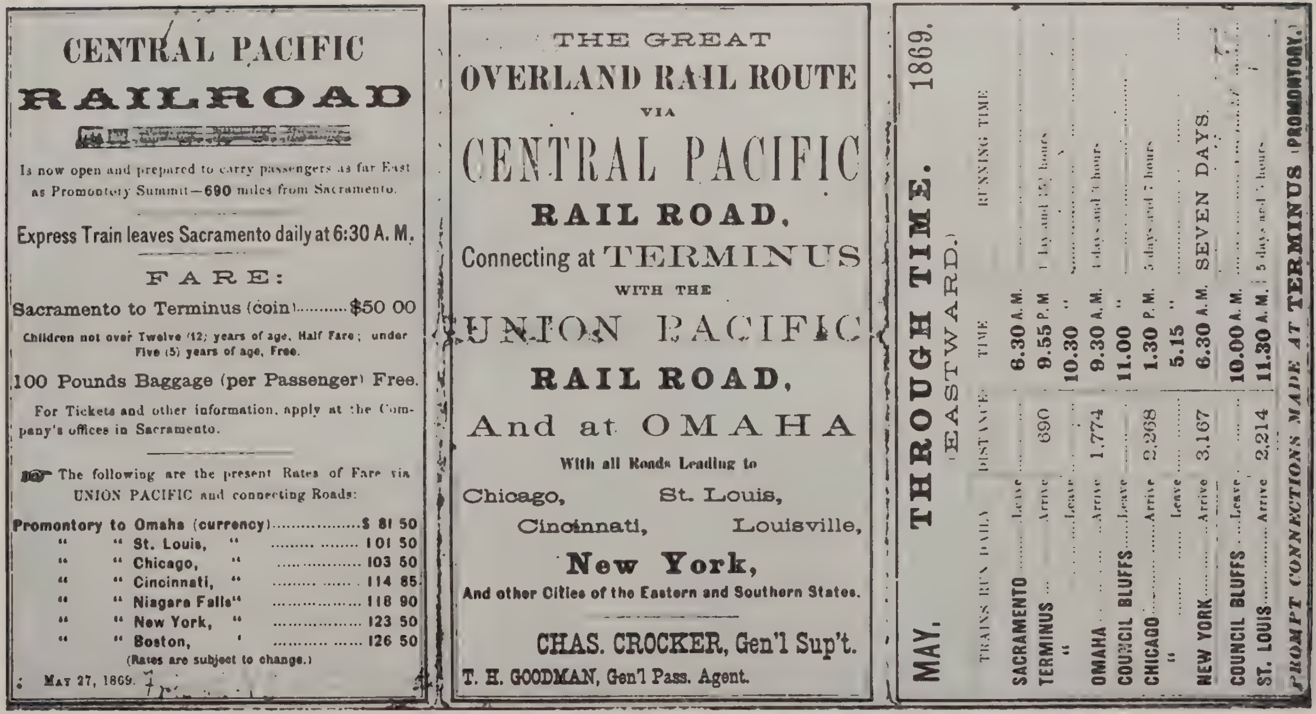
Law and Order at Sutter's Mill

Sutter's Mill, Aug. 20, 1849

They have elected a sort of Provisional Government here, have elected officers, etc. The best of law prevails; the law of honor. A man may set his gold in the street, and no one dare touch it, for death is inevitably the reward of the rogue.

W. B. Royall
Missouri *Statesman*, Oct. 26, 1849

(Concluded)



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May 27, 1869.

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TERMINUS	Arrive	690	9.55 P.M.	1 day and 15½ hours
"	Leave		10.30 "	
OMAHA	Arrive	1,774	9.30 A.M.	4 days and 3 hours
COUNCIL BLUFFS	Leave		11.00 "	
CHICAGO	Arrive	2,268	1.30 P.M.	5 days and 7 hours
"	Leave		5.15 "	
NEW YORK	Arrive	3,167	6.30 A.M.	SEVEN DAYS.
COUNCIL BLUFFS	Leave		10.00 A.M.	
ST. LOUIS	Arrive	2,214	11.30 A.M.	5 days and 5 hours

PROMPT CONNECTIONS MADE AT TERMINUS (PROMONTORY.)

Courtesy of the Society of California Pioneers

To Europe Via Promontory in 1869

From the Recollections of James Gamble's Daughter, Mary

IN THE LATE 1860's the great railroad connecting the East and West was approaching completion. My mother had been planning to take her family abroad, establish them comfortably, and then induce my father, who had been earning his living continuously since he was twelve, to enjoy a year or more's travel and recreation from his very strenuous work in the telegraph company.

My father was born near Baltimore in 1826. The family moved later to Alton, Illinois, where he went into a printing office which gave him, he said, the education in English grammar that he should have had in high school. The advent of the telegraph aroused his interest. He learned the code, soon had a position, and by 1850 was manager of the most important office in the state – Chicago. Later, in California, the telegraph became his life work.*

Whatever my father may have thought at first of my mother's daring scheme about going to Germany, he grew to be in sympathy with it, and our plan was to continue onward to the eastern seaboard on the first train prepared to carry passengers after the ceremony of the joining of the railroads was over. Our Oakland home was offered for sale, and we were taken to a hotel in San Francisco to be ready for the journey.

One evening my father came in with the news that he had been invited by an official of the railroad to join him in his private car. He had refused the invitation, however, explaining that he was taking his family on a later train en route to Europe. Whereupon this friend had exclaimed: "Bring them along. There's plenty of room." My father then said that not only was his family large, but his wife's sister, as well as a friend and her daughter, were to be with us. Again all objections were gallantly swept aside.

The Central Pacific, as our end of the new road was called at that time, had its terminal at Sacramento where we were to go on board, along with officials and others.[1] It was not until later that we learned we were carrying the laurel railroad tie and the gold spike, to be used in the ceremony of the union of the rails.

The first sight of snow after reaching the mountains was a novel interest for us children, and we, as well as the grown-ups, hopped out at stops and indulged in snowballing. Finally the great plains were reached. They stretched day after day for miles and miles, with nothing in sight but sage brush and low grasses, and no trees except slender willows along the streams. I remember hearing my father tell of the difficulty of getting proper sized trees for telegraph poles. They had to be brought from the mountains, and the railroad ties as well.[2] The poles were later spiked with nails or wired upward to a certain height, in order to save them from being worn down by the buffaloes, who had discovered that they were comfortable places on which to scratch their itching heads. Prairie dogs were an endless delight, as they stood erect on their burrows and then whipped quickly out of sight. One day the engineer was watchful and absorbed. Following the direction of his eyes, I saw a long, low, red streak and knew it to be one of the terrors of the plains – prairie fire. I heard the engineer mutter, "We'll pull ahead of it," and we did.

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* Miss Gamble is preparing a history of her father's life for the QUARTERLY.

One of our interests was to ask my father what time we were making – how fast we were going. Out would come his watch. Holding it, he would carefully estimate the time we took in passing between the exactly placed telegraph poles.[3] Then he would give us the rate of travel. A cheerful incident for my mother and myself (aged ten) was getting rid of our hoop skirts. Just as we were leaving San Francisco, my mother heard that hoops were no longer the fashion in New York, and as they were a particular nuisance in travel we thrust them out of the window. I have often wondered how we looked on our arrival in New York in our costumes made for hoops – but without them.

I do not remember how long it took us to reach Promontory, the place of the meeting of the rails, but our arrival there is very vivid to me still. The time of day was about five in the evening, in a terrific downpour of rain, with thunder and lightning. We were hustled into a big canvas-covered wagon which was to carry us across to the other train, supposed to be standing waiting. The train however had not arrived; and why we were not returned to our comfortable warm berths I do not know. Possibly the storm interfered. We were deposited in an immense circular tent. It contained a pile of mattresses, a trundle bed, and a tiny old-fashioned washstand, which must have been used by the workingmen. We younger people were thrilled over the preparations for the night. A mattress was spread upon the trundle bed, chairs and boxes being ranged alongside, and we five children (our clothes still on) were placed in a row upon it and covered with traveling rugs. The two mothers and my aunt, also in their clothes, slept as best they could on a pile of mattresses under other rugs; but my father and the superintendent had to patrol all night to protect us from the stray gun shots of Irish laborers, celebrating the completion of their work with firearms as well as drinks. Maybe the Chinese in the Western camp were using firecrackers for the same purpose, although it was a rainy, blustery night.

The celebration, which had been scheduled for the next day, May seventh, had to be postponed until Monday, because of the storm and the delay of the train from the East. These days were spent in Salt Lake City.[4] The city impressed us greatly with its broad clean streets and the rills of water surrounding each square. The appearance of women working in the fields interested us, too, as we had known only white men and Chinese doing such labor.

We returned to Promontory the following Monday. The weather had cleared but the wind was bitterly cold. People stood in the mud and water, waiting for the arrival of the Eastern train. When it finally came the ceremony [5] took place – May the tenth, 1869. My memory fails me on the details of this important event, and is much mixed with the official accounts.[6] Perhaps however, as a full-grown daughter of James Gamble (I am now eighty-six), I should not try to think back to that waiting group of people standing in the mud and cold some five thousand feet above sea level, but, instead, remind the reader that even then there was a "larger audience," namely, the great crowds [7] in front of telegraph offices throughout America, for whose entertainment my father, the general superintendent of the Pacific Division of the Western Union, had ordered all wires cleared for transmission of the exciting news from Promontory.

NOTES

[1] The following bare statement of fact appeared under "City Intelligence" in the May 5th, 1869, edition of the Sacramento *Daily Union*:

LEAVE FOR THE FRONT. – Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker, and several other gentlemen, leave by special train for the railroad front this morning, to be present and assist in the final completion of the enterprise.

Poets on this occasion, however, and at the time of the completion of the transcontinental telegraph, seem to have been unrestrained both as to column space and metaphor. As a result, the lyre and the harp suffered some rather startling innovations. Thus, the Sacramento *Daily Union* printed in its Monday morning edition, November 11, 1861:

MAGNETIC TELEGRAPH (unsigned)

What mean these miles of gleaming wire,
Stretched out afar o'er hill and plain,
As if to string some massive lyre
And ring out earth's redeeming strain?
It is a lyre, whose every string
Shall vibrate to the praise of man;
Such tribute to his genius bring,
As ne'er was paid since time began.

***

No more we'll trust the lagging steed or carrier dove,
But call the lightning from above
To spread the news and tell the tale.

***

And eight years later, the same newspaper published in its May 5th, 1869, edition an ODE, written by Lauren E. Crane, which was sung to the music of America at the Sacramento celebration of the joining of the rails:

Through toil built mountain gates,
We come, O Sister States!
With hymns of praise;
Where white Sierras rise,
Where green plains face the skies,

We grasp the victor's prize,
To crown our days!
***
Glad be the song we sing!
Columbia's Harp we string
With iron chords;
***

2. Over some stretches, poles had to be carried 200 miles or more through a country without roads, and dangerous to travel. The original specifications called for not less than 25 poles per mile, of durable material, and for iron wire of best quality. Later, the first line was replaced by a new structure along the line of the Pacific Railroad. James D. Reid, *The Telegraph in America* (New York: John Polhemus, 1886), pp. 493-97. The most recent demand for poles on a grand scale – some 30,000 of them – came in 1942 during the building of an emergency north-south line, back from the Pacific coast. To meet part of the needs, pine was brought from as far away as Mississippi. Richard C. Smith, "Building the West's New Telephone Route," *Bell Telephone Magazine*, XXIII, Winter, 1944-45, pp. 241-54. In constructing its original line from California to Promontory, the Central Pacific used fir for ties, also bull pine and tamrac, brought down by narrow gauge railway and flume from the Sierra Nevada.

3. It is obvious that pole-counting today would have to be considerably hastened (and the prairie dog's antics completed in a shorter cycle), with modern trains traveling at a top speed of 75 miles per hour, over the same type of country that saw speeds of 20-25 m.p.h. in the late 1860's. And yet the editor of the Virginia City *Territorial Enterprise* of October 19, 1869, was moved to write: "... Nothing is more exhilarating than speed. It is physically and mentally exciting ... and you think quick, pleasantly and liberally." (Quoted by Gilbert H. Kneiss, "The Virginia and Truckee Railway," Bull. 45, *The Railway and Locomotive Historical Society*, p. 12.)

4. Miss Gamble does not remember what type of conveyance was used to reach Salt Lake. Ground was not broken for the Utah Central Railroad, connecting-line between Ogden and Salt Lake City, until May 17, 1869, one week after the ceremony at Promontory.

5. We are informed by Philip R. Thayer of Piedmont that his father, I. E. Thayer, supplied the laurel tie used in the ceremony of uniting the rails, and that it was taken from the side of Mount Tamalpais. While crossing the Sierra Nevada, a carpenter on the train drove into the tie an iron spike, which had been made the exact shape and size of the gold spike. The iron spike was then removed, leaving a hole in which the gold one was later placed. This was done because a spike of gold could not have been driven into a hard laurel tie without bending.

6. *See*, for example, Major-General Grenville M. Dodge (Chief Engineer, Union Pacific Ry., 1866–70), *How We Built the Union Pacific Railway, and Other Railway Papers and Addresses*, pp. 67-73. In the light of today's returning soldiers, it is interesting to note the comment of Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman, in command of troops on the western plains as far out as Utah, about the men who built the transcontinental railway. During his visits to the surveying and construction camps, he noticed that the heads of all the parties had been soldiers during the Civil War. "I firmly believe," he said, "that the Civil War trained the men who built that great National highway ... "

7. The *Territorial Enterprise* of Tuesday, May 11, 1869, said that the people of Virginia and Gold Hill did not celebrate on Saturday as did Sacramento and San Francisco:

"Our celebration of the completion of the road was modest but enthusiastic, and instead of mingling the echo of our bells in imagination with the timid thunders of two or three California villages, we waited until the song of a thousand cities went up from the East, and then joined in the grand diapason of a continent."

Recent Californiana

A Check List of Publications Relating to California

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

CROSBY, ELISHA OSCAR

Memoirs: Reminiscences of California and Guatemala from 1849 to 1864. Edited by Charles Albro Barker. San Marino: Huntington Library. 1945. 119 pp. illus. $2.75.

EVANS, GEORGE W. B.

Mexican Gold Trail, the Journal of a Forty-Niner. San Marino: Huntington Library, 1945. 340 pp. illus. $5.00.

GEIGER, VINCENT AND WAKEMAN, BRYARLY

Trail to California, the Overland Journal of Vincent Geiger and Wakeman Bryarly. Edited by David Morris Potter. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945. xii + 245 pp. illus. map. $3.50.

HALE, EDWARD EVERETT

The Queen of California, the Origin of the Name of California, with a translation from the Sergas of Esplandian. San Francisco: Colt Press, 1945. 46 pp. $3.00.

MCNAIRN, JACK, AND MACMULLEN, JERRY

Ships of the Redwood Coast. Stanford University Press, 1945. 156 pp. illus. $3.00.

MARSHALL, JAMES

Santa Fe, the Railroad that built an Empire. New York: Random House, 1945. illus. maps. $3.75.

MORSE, JOHN FREDERICK, M. D.

The First History of Sacramento City. With a Historical Note on the Life of Dr. Morse, by Caroline Wenzel. Sacramento: Sacramento Book Collectors Club, 1945. 127 pp. illus. $5.00.

PROCTOR, A. PHIMISTER

An Ascent of Half Dome in 1884. San Francisco: [Grabhorn Press] 1945. 20 pp. illus.

WINTHER, OSCAR OSBURN

Via Western Express and Stagecoach. Stanford University Press, 1945. 158 pp. illus. maps. $3.00.

WILLIAM CAVALIER MEMORIAL FUND

Shortly after Mr. William Cavalier's death, several of his friends, knowing his great love for the history of the State and aware of his efforts to inspire the same devotion in others, sent to the office of the Society contributions to a fund which they hoped would be set up as a memorial to Mr. Cavalier.

The Directors have expressed their grateful appreciation of the plan, and desire that this announcement be made in the Quarterly, informing the membership as a whole of the existence of such a fund and that additions to it are being gladly received. Decision as to what form the memorial will take has not yet been made.

News of the Society

Gifts Received by the Society

September 1 to November 30, 1945

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From the late MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Proctor, A. Phimister, *An Ascent of Half Dome in 1884*, San Francisco, Grabhorn Press, 1945; San Martín, José, *Memorial and Proposals . . . on the Californias*, Mexico, 1822. Tr. with an Introd. by Henry R. Wagner, San Francisco [Grabhorn Press], 1945.

From MRS. RALPH H. CROSS—Cullimore, Clarence, *Old Adobes of Forgotten Fort Tejon*, Bakersfield, Kern County Historical Society, 1941.

From MR. RALPH H. CROSS—California Conservation Commission, *Report, 1912;* Hunt, Rockwell D., *California the Golden*, 1911; Hunter, Stanley A., *Temple of Religion and Tower of Peace at the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition*, San Francisco, 1940; Lafler, Henry A., *Alameda County the Ideal Place for your Colifornia Home*, 1915; Pacific Gas and Electric Company, *Christmas Souvenir, 1914.*

From MR. FRANKLIN HITTELL—Hittell, John S., *The Evidences against Christianity*, 2d ed. 2 volumes, 1857; Hittell, Theodore H., *Goethe's Faust* (c. 1872).

From THE TRUSTEES OF THE HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY AND ART GALLERY—Crosby, Elisha Oscar, *Memoirs, Reminiscences of California and Guatemala from 1849 to 1864*, San Marino, 1945; Evans, George W. B., *Mexican Gold Trail, the Journal of a Forty-Niner*, San Marino, 1945.

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M. D.—Fischer, Dr. Frank, *Metrical Musings*, San Francisco, 1931.

From MR. J. RUPERT MASON—Darrow, Clarence, *How to abolish Unfair Taxation*, an address delivered March, 1913. Reprinted March, 1945; McGlynn, Father, Father McGlynn on the Land Question, n. d.

From EX-LIEUT. C. STEWART PETERSON—Peterson, C. Stewart, *Admiral John A. Dahlgren, Father of U. S. Naval Ordnance*, New York, 1945.

From SACRAMENTO BOOK COLLECTORS CLUB—Morse, John F., *The First History of Sacramento City*, Sacramento, 1945.

From STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS—McNairn, Jack and MacMullen, Jerry, *Ships of the Redwood Coast*, Stanford University (c. 1945); Winther, Oscar Osburn, *Via Western Express and Stagecoach*, Stanford University (c. 1945).

From MRS. STUBENDORFF—Croly, Mrs. Jennie Cunningham, *History of the Woman's Club Movement in America*, New York, (c. 1898).

From UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA MEDICAL CENTER LIBRARY—Corney, Peter, *Voyages in the Northern Pacific*, Honolulu, 1896.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—*The Associated Colleges at Claremont: Graduate and Undergraduate Developments of the War and Post-War Periods*, Claremont, 1945; Crosby, Elisha Oscar, *Memoirs, Reminiscences of California and Guatemala from 1849 to 1864*, San Marino, 1945; Edwards, E. I., *The Valley whose Name is Death*, Pasadena, 1945; Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, *Conquest of the Air, the Evolution of Aeronautics to 1883, an Exhibition, June, 1941*, 1941; *Papeles de las Californias, Nos. 6,* 7, *8*, Mexico, D. F., Vargas Rea; 1944; San Martín, José, *Memorial and Proposals of Señor Don José Martín on the Californias*, Mexico, 1822. Translated into English with an Introduction by Henry R. Wagner, 1945; Schulze, W., *Reise und Lebensbilder aus Neuholland, Neuseeland und Californien*, 2d edition, Magdeburg, 1853; Shepherd, Dr. J. S., *Journal of Travel across the Plains to California, and Guide* *to the Future Emigrant,* published 1851, reprinted, January, 1945; *The Work of the Grabhorn Press,* notes on an Exhibition for the Friends of the Huntington Library, June, 1945; *The Zamorano 80: a Selection of Distinguished California Books made by Members of the Zamorano Club,* Los Angeles, 1945.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—Bruner, Helen Marcia, *California's Old Burying Grounds,* prepared for the National Society of Colonial Dames of America Resident in the State of California, San Francisco, 1945.

MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS

From DR. CHARLES A. ANDERSON—*Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society,* Vol. XXIII, No. 2, June, 1945.

From MR. HARRY W. FRANZ—*The American Foreign Service Journal,* July, August, 1945.

From MR. FRANKLIN HITTELL—*San Francisco Daily Times,* Vol. 8, May 9, 1858—November 6, 1858; *San Francisco Daily Town Talk,* Vol. 5, November 9, 1856—May 9, 1857.

From GEORGE H. KRESS, M. D.—*California and Western Medicine,* Vol. 44, Nos. 4-5, April-May, 1936, Vol. 63, No. 1, July, 1945.

From MR. J. RUPERT MASON—Henry George School of Social Science, *On the Campus,* Vol. III, No. 3, February, 1945.

From MR. LOUIS ROESCH—*San Francisco City Argus,* June 21, 1884, August 31, 1895; *San Francisco Wasp,* December 20, 1884, December 21, 1901, November 14, 1903.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—*Huntington Library Quarterly* VIII, No. 3, May, 1945; VIII, No. 4, August, 1945.

MANUSCRIPTS

From MISS WINIFRED C. DABOLL—Letters and Documents concerning Edward Gilbert and E. C. Kemble.

From MISS MARY GAMBLE—Letter from George T. Brown to Hon. Thompson Campbell, dated Alton, Ills., March 26, 1853. (Photostat)

From MR. FRANKLIN HITTELL—Hittell, Theodore H. Original Manuscript of *History of California,* Book III, chapters I-XI, 1758–1784.

From MR. EDGAR M. KAHN—Hallidie, A. S., *Story of the Mechanics' Institute,* December 11, 1896 (Typewritten); von Geldern, Otto, *An Address to the Pioneer Schoolboys and Girls of Sonoma,* made May 30, 1931. (Typewritten)

PICTURES

From MR. RALPH H. CROSS—Realty Union, Views of Oakland and its Vicinity. Published by the Realty Union, n.d.

From MISS WINIFRED C. DABOLL—Two Daguerreotypes of Edward Gilbert and E. C. Kemble.

From MRS. FRANCIS H. DAVIS—Two Photographs: Don José Abrego; Doña Josefa Abrego (Framed).

From MRS. AUGUSTUS M. LORD—Nine Photographs of San Francisco People and Places.

From MR. LOUIS ROESCH—Two Pictures: View of San Francisco, 1846-47; San Francisco Bay Exposition, 1939.

From MR. AND MRS. REGINALD F. WALKER—Four Oil Paintings by James Walker, Grandfather of Mr. Reginald F. Walker: Artillery Maneuvers; Rancho Santa Margarita (two); Vaqueros roping a Bear.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MRS. WILLIAM A. BREWER—Collection of Bookplates to be known as the Rev. William A. Brewer Collection of California Bookplates, given by his widow Augusta La Motte Brewer to the California Historical Society, October, 1945.

From MR. M. M. CLEMENTS—Coffee Mill; Ten Amalgam Cups, found at Finley's Camp, September 6, 1945.

From MRS. A. K. P. HARMON, MRS. E. R. LEACH, MR. EDWARD C. STALDER, DR. J. M. STALDER, MR. WALTER STALDER, MRS. W. H. WAKEFIELD—Twenty Boxes of Clippings from early day California Newspapers, made by Joseph Stalder, presented by his Children.

From MR. FRANKLIN HITTELL—Hittell, John S. Scrapbooks, 179 Volumes; Draft on Banking House of James King of William.

From MR. FRANKLIN MITTAU—Eight Post Cards, Scenes of the West.

From MR. LOUIS ROESCH—California Theatre Program, December 6, 1894, Thomas Keene in "Hamlet."

From MR. C. A. WECK—Scrap Book of Frank A. Weck, a former Resident of Humboldt County.

It will be apparent from the many items listed above, as having been presented to the Society by Mr. Franklin Hittell of San Francisco, that the value of our collection in research material has been much increased during the last quarter. The 179 scrapbooks of clippings on the political, economic, and social history of the State have at times been consulted by students in the library of the Hittell residence, through the kindness and courtesy of their owner. The Society is happy to announce that these scrapbooks, the painstaking work of John S. Hittell, will now be available to members and to accredited workers in history at the rooms on McAllister Street.

The office of the Society in preserving relics that bear witness to the artistic history of the State has been well illustrated by three recent gifts. Early in September there was delivered at the Society's headquarters the so-called Abrego piano, one of a shipment of three such instruments first to be brought to California. They arrived in 1843 in the same cargo with a steam sawmill. It is perhaps unnecessary to record that the sawmill went into immediate and vital use, but not far behind in point of time and importance (though fortunately not in cacaphony), one of the beautiful pianos, the work of Brell-Kopf and Haertel of Leipzig, found a resting place in the charming ball-room of Don José María Abrego on his Rancho Huerta del Rey, now known as the Santa Anita Rancho in San Benito County. Here its sweet music is said to have delighted all listeners. That this historic instrument finally found its way to the California Historical Society is due to the extreme generosity of Mrs. Francis H. Davis (Dulce Bolado Davis, granddaughter of Don José Abrego), of Tres Pinos, California; and it is hoped that the members will make it convenient to come to the rooms of the Society, for, in order to appreciate its lovely appearance, the Abrego piano should be seen directly and not visualized from the printed page. (Readers are referred to an article by E. D. Holden, "California's First Pianos," this QUARTERLY, XIII (March 1934), 34-37).

Recent acquisition is also announced of three water color paintings by William B. McMurtrie, "The entrance to the bay of San Francisco," and two views of San Francisco in 1849. The pictures were painted by McMurtrie while on the west coast with the United States Coast Survey and were given to the Society by his niece, Miss Theodora N. McMurtrie of Philadelphia. It is hoped that a more detailed indication of the value of these pictures can be published by the Society in the very near future.

Another group of paintings, in this instance by James Walker, has been presented to the Society by Mr. and Mrs. Reginald F. Walker, as itemized above. They are large, arresting canvases and show clearly the skill of this artist in depicting dramatic historical scenes.

A letter, dated at New York August 29th last, from the Numismatic Review, was received by the editors too late for comment in the September issue. As the contents bear on the accuracy of our record of the $50 gold piece, given to the Society by Mrs. F. P. Howard in spring, we take pleasure in publishing portions both of the Review's letter and of our own response. "In your bulletin," said the Review, "for June 1945, on page 183, we note your report of a $50 gold piece with the rate of fineness given as '800 thous.' We are unable to find a record of such a coin and would thank you to send us a photograph of it, if there is no misprint in your report as to '800.' Should the coin be as described, the Numismatic Review would appreciate your permission to publish it with, of course, due acknowledgment to the Society." To which the editors, after thanking the Review for its letter, responded: "We have re-examined the figure in question, and have referred to additional authorities (viz., E. H. Adams, *Private Gold Coinage*, IV, item 83; Adams' *Official Premium List of U. S. Private and Territorial Gold Coins*; also, *LXXI Catalogue of the Valuable Collection of Pioneer and Territorial Gold Coins Issued in California . . . Collection of Judge Charles W. Slack*, San Francisco . . . May 5, 1925 . . .), and have come to the conclusion that in all probability the rate of fineness should have read '900 thous.' The first digit of the numeral on our piece is so much worn, in addition to its close juxtaposition against the out-turned edges of the label, that it is almost impossible to read. Undoubtedly the wise procedure in cases such as this is to let the printed descriptions identify the doubtful numeral or numerals."

In Memoriam

William St. Cyr Cavalier

1883–1945

On October 26th, William St. Cyr Cavalier died from a heart attack at his ranch near Gridley in Butte County. By his death, this Society loses a distinguished and worthy president whose deep love for California and its picturesque history was a first consideration in all his wide and manifold activities. In that love and interest we find the incentive that moved him all his adult life to serve diligently and wholeheartedly the ideals and objectives of the California Historical Society.

Mr. Cavalier's interest in this State, its history and its development, flowed naturally from his training and his character. A generous and progressive outlook on men and affairs was instilled in him by his Louisiana father. The father early saw in California a land of immense possibilities and resolved to cast his future with this State. The California career of the son, William, began at the age of ten in Berkeley, where he was prepared for entry into the university. He graduated in 1906 and from then on his career was rapid, crowded, and intense. By 1916 he had founded the firm of William Cavalier & Co., San Francisco and Oakland, which held memberships in New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles Stock Exchanges, New York Curb, and Chicago Board of Trade. At his death he was a special partner in Dean Witter & Co., with which William Cavalier & Co. was consolidated. His career in commerce, in banking, in public utilities, and finance was progressive and distinguished, but equally distinguished and devoted were his philanthropic activities, and his life-long support of community health measures, constructive charities, and the welfare of children. He gave freely of his time and experience to cultural and educational projects, to postwar planning and expansion, and to war activities. In fulfilling the obligations of a good citizen, Mr. Cavalier applied himself to every commitment, shirking none, giving the best of his heart and brain always.

The day of his death found him acting chairman of the non-profit Columbia Historic Park Association. The beautiful Mother Lode town of Columbia, with its many relics and treasures of early mining days and mining camp activities, has long been in the eyes of this Society and of Californians generally a monument most worthy to be saved from the ravages of time. Earlier this year the State Legislature passed an act, signed by Governor Earl Warren, appropriating $50,000 to acquire and preserve this typical historic mining town as a State Park, to be administered by the State Park Commission. The Commission set up the non-profit Columbia Historic Park Association to raise funds to match the sum appropriated by the State and to act as an Advisory Committee to the State Park Commission in the work of restoration. Mr. Cavalier volunteered to act as chairman of this Association. When Columbia finally becomes an enduring and attractive monument, a glowing ornament to our colorful history, it will be to William Cavalier and his enthusiastic and hearty support of the project that much credit will be due.

In the midst of a life packed with widespread business, private, and public activities, he found time for full and happy club associations. The extent of his activities indicates how well organized and integrated his life was. Only the busiest persons have time for everything. This historical society, the Piedmont Trails, Claremont Country Club, Athenian-Nile, California Commonwealth Club, The Bohemian and the Pacific Union all felt the warmth and inspiration of his enthusiasm. The worthwhile record of William Cavalier's crowded life would fill a large volume. This brief memorial is intended only to suggest the fine qualities in the character of the friend and associate who has departed from his labors among us.

Mr. Cavalier was born November 26, 1883, on Starlight Plantation, Louisiana, the son of Louis A. and Emma St. Cyr Cavalier. He married Camille Adams in June, 1913. The widow, three children and two grand children survive. His son, William St. Cyr Cavalier, Jr., is an ensign in the U. S. N. R.

JOSEPH R. KNOWLAND

GEORGE COSGRAVE

1870–1945

George Cosgrave, for fifty years a distinguished citizen of Fresno and a lifelong student of the history of California, died on August 4, 1945, while engaged in research into the history of the Fraser River Valley in British Columbia. He was a judge of the United States Court for the Southern District of California, the first man to be named to the position from this part of the State.

George Cosgrave, the son of Michael and Margaret Cosgrave, was born near Angels Camp, Calaveras County, California, February 20, 1870. He attended public schools in Calaveras County and then graduated from the San Jose State Normal School. In 1889, he came to Fresno, where he taught school for six years. Upon becoming principal of the Central School, he studied law at night, and was admitted to the bar in 1895.

Judge Cosgrave engaged in the general practice of law, but specialized in fruit corporation litigation. He was particularly proud of his ten years of public service as a member of the Fresno City school board, being chairman of the board during the latter part of that time. He was also, for fifteen years, and until his death, a member of the advisory board of the Fresno State College.

In 1930 came his appointment by President Herbert Hoover to the bench of the Federal Court for the Southern District of California. Here he served for ten years with learning, dignity and distinction, retiring in 1940 at the legal age, but frequently serving afterwards on special call. While sitting as judge, for the most part in Los Angeles, he continued to make his home in Fresno.

Judge Cosgrave was for many years active in the California Historical Society, the Historical Society of Southern California, and the Fresno County Historical Society of which he was a charter member. He wrote many articles for periodicals, the fruit of his personal interest and research. In later years, he gave special attention to men notable as judges in the early records of the State, and, at the time of his death, had completed a history of the judges of the United States Court for the Southern District of California, which now awaits publication by the Grabhorn Press of San Francisco. In 1942, Grabhorn published his translation, from French into English, of a book of the gold rush days, *Scenes of Life in California*, originally written in German by Frederick Gerstacker.

Judge Cosgrave's life was uniformly happy. His wife and their one daughter Margaret (Mrs. Roy Vernon Sowers of Glenwood) survive him.

Ben R. Walker
Fresno State College

Meetings

On September 13, 1945, Dr. Lawrence Kinnaird, professor of history at the University of California, spoke at the Palace Hotel before a luncheon meeting of the Society on the subject of Admission Day. His address was listened to with the greatest interest, as it was unusual in many respects. It made his hearers aware that it takes an illuminating mind to give hitherto little-appreciated events their true picturesqueness. What could possibly be said about California's first Admission Day – October 29th, the day of the formal celebration – that would be new? In no time Dr. Kinnaird's audience found out how much they had previously missed, with respect to that much-postponed occasion and its antecedents.

The California Constitutional Convention of 1849 was the subject of Mr. Thomas W. Norris' talk before the Society on November eighth at the Palace Hotel. Mr. Norris has been for a long time a collector of Californiana, so that his sources of information were pleasantly varied. He dwelt on the inexperience and youth of many of the delegates; but, in spite of these apparent handicaps, the results of their barely over a month's work showed that the forty-eight delegates had a practical grasp of what the western frontier needed, were able to harmonize their differences, and had a belief in themselves that was not too artless.

The Quarterly will appreciate information from the members of the Society on their military services to the nation during the War. It is preparing such a roster as a matter of record for future reference, and hopes that no question of modesty will prevent the members from responding objectively.

New Members

Active

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
H. V. Alward	Palo Alto	Membership Committee
Louis J. Breuner	Piedmont	William Cavalier and Joseph R. Knowland
Howard Bronstein	San Leandro	Ralph H. Cross
Malcolm Bruce	San Francisco	William Cavalier and Allen L. Chickering
Paul F. Cadman	Oakland	Allen L. Chickering and Joseph R. Knowland
Mrs. Robert A. Chambers	New York	John Howell
Mrs. L. T. Church	San Francisco	Ralph H. Cross
Randolph R. Clement	San Francisco	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Paul H. Davis	Palo Alto	George L. Harding
Monroe E. Deutsch	Berkeley	William Cavalier and Sidney M. Ehrman
Alfred W. Eames	San Francisco	Allen L. Chickering and C. O. G. Miller
Will R. Ernst	Palo Alto	Allen L. Chickering
Hargreaves Library	Cheney, Wash.	Membership Committee
George Herrington	San Francisco	William Cavalier and Allen L. Chickering
Mrs. Zena G. Holman	Pacific Grove	Membership Committee
Gerald D. Kennedy	Stockton	William Cavalier
Miss Helen C. Lillis	San Francisco	Mrs. Alfred McLaughlin
James E. McConnell, M. D.	Columbia	William Cavalier and Joseph R. Knowland
Adrian Michaelis	San Francisco	George L. Harding
John E. Morris	Oakland	William Cavalier and Joseph R. Knowland
North Texas State Teachers College Library	Denton, Texas	Membership Committee
DeWitt O'Kieffe	Chicago	Membership Committee
W. Stanley Pearce	Palo Alto	George L. Harding
Edward Hotchkiss Post	Palo Alto	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Howard S. Reed	Berkeley	R. L. Underhill
Aurelia Henry Reinhardt	San Francisco	Mrs. George Cadwalader
W. B. Sampson	Stockton	Carlos LaMoine
Herbert H. Schultz, M. D.	San Francisco	Morton R. Gibbons, M. D.
Mrs. R. Knight Smith	San Francisco	Mrs. Alfred McLaughlin
Richard C. Smith	San Francisco	George L. Harding
F. J. Solinsky, Jr.	Mokelumne Hill	William Cavalier and Joseph R. Knowland
W. G. Swigert	San Francisco	Ralph Keenan and George H. Kress, M. D.
Frank F .Walker	Stanford University	William Cavalier and C. O. G. Miller
Oliver B. Wyman	San Francisco	William Cavalier and Allen L. Chickering

Sustaining

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Mrs. Wallace Alexander	Orinda	William Cavalier and Allen L. Chickering

Marginalia

Keld Reynolds, whose translation of the actions of the Junta de Fomento de Californias, 1825–27, begins in this issue of the Quarterly, was born in Copenhagen. He studied at Pacific Union College, Angwin, California, afterwards attending the University of Southern California where he completed the requirements for the Ph.D. Dr. Reynolds has taught history at Hutchinson Seminary in Minnesota, at Iowa Academy, Oak Park, Iowa, and is now professor of history at La Sierra College (formerly the Southern California Junior College), where he has been dean in charge of the academic program since 1936.

Mrs. Maloney and Miss Eastwood are valued contributors to the QUARTERLY and need no introduction to our readers.

Miss Mary Gamble, author of the sketch about Promontory, is a native of Sacramento, year of 1859. During the early nineteen-hundred's she opened a school for boarders and day pupils in Santa Barbara. Much of her long life has been given to study and travel; and it is perhaps needless to add that these activities, superposed on her inherited qualities, made Miss Gamble's school a success, and makes her presence now a delight to any gathering.

In connection with the publication of the Brackenridge journal in this issue of the Quarterly, a letter has come to our attention, illustrating the generous spirit on the part of the Maryland Historical Society which prompted it to open its treasures for the benefit of an inquiring sister-society at the other end of the continent. The letter was written to Mrs. Maloney by William D. Hoyt, Jr., assistant-director of the eastern organization. "We are glad," says Mr. Hoyt, "that you were able to use this item from our collection – for, after all, one of the purposes of gathering historical materials in an institution such as this is to make them available for use."

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

Mrs. Wallace Alexander's father, Timothy Leonard Barker, came to California from Connecticut in 1849 by way of the Horn. After mining in Placer County and farming near Haywards for a year or so, he went into the wholesale grocery business of Adams and Co. in Sacramento. Later, with two others, he organized the San Francisco firm of Wellman, Peck and Co., Mr. Barker being the "Co." His association with this firm lasted until his retirement in the early 80's. Mr. Barker was at one time a director of the Bank of California, besides serving on boards of charitable institutions on both sides of the Bay. Mrs. Alexander's mother, Mary R. Simpson, a native of New York City, came to California in 1868, and became a teacher at Benicia and later at Mills College. She married Mrs. Alexander's father in

1872 and died in Japan in 1920 while traveling. Though born in San Francisco, Mrs. Alexander has lived on the east side of the Bay since she was two.

Herbert V. Alward is a native of New Brunswick, Canada. He came to the United States in 1901, where he has been connected with banking institutions, first in Montana, then in New York City, and in 1916, upon arrival on the west coast, in Washington and Oregon. Since 1935, Mr. Alward has been vice-president of the Bank of California N. A. in San Francisco.

Mr. F. R. Brace, whose name was listed among the new members in the September Quarterly, is a radio engineer associated with the Universal Research Laboratories of San Francisco. Currently he is engaged in making engineering plans for television facilities to be installed on the top of the Mark Hopkins Hotel. A branch of his family (genealogy uncertain) were among the early settlers of California, so that his interest outside business hours, in making short motion pictures of historic episodes occurring in the San Francisco Bay area, seems entirely understandable. Mr. Brace would welcome suggestions being sent him for such plays, especially those where landmarks still exist that could be used as background.

Paul Fletcher Cadman is the grandson of Stephen Fletcher who crossed the continent by land in 1851, to be joined the next year by his wife with her two-year old daughter (Mr. Cadman's mother), coming *via* the Isthmus. They settled in Grass Valley, later returning to San Francisco where the grandfather had at first resided. Paul Cadman, who was born in Oakland, graduated from the University of California in 1915 and took his doctorate at the University of Paris in 1922. He has been associate professor of economics at the State University, was dean of men for the year 1928, and between 1933 and 1935 was assistant to the president. From 1936 to 1940 Mr. Cadman was president of the American Research Foundation, after which, during the crucial years 1940–44, he acted as economist of the American Bankers' Association in New York City. He is now director of research for the Henry J. Kaiser Company. Mr. Cadman holds the Croix de Guerre and is a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, awarded for his conduct in World War I. His writings deal mainly with Franco-American history – Lafayette, Rochambeau, Benjamin Franklin, and others who helped to make those relations noteworthy.

Mrs. L. T. Church (Grace M. Church) is a native of Newark, New Jersey. Her family came to San Francisco in 1882, some fourteen years later moving to Oakland. Mrs. Church writes poetry and sings. Those who remember that genial conductor and singing teacher, Paul Steindorff, will rejoice with Mrs. Church that she was able to sing under his direction in the Wednesday Morning Choral Society.

Randolph R. Clement, born in Oakland, counts three generations of Californians among his ancestors. His great-grandfather was Judge H. N. Clement, after whom, Mr. Clement tells us, Clement Street in San Francisco was named. His maternal great-grandfather was James W. Dougherty, purchaser in 1852 of the Amador Rancho, near the present town of Pleasanton, where Mr. Clement, head of the advertising firm which bears his name, now resides.

Paul H. Davis, a native of Iowa and a graduate of Stanford University with the class of 1922, was an aviator in World War I, having been commissioned a second lieutenant after attending the School of Military Aeronautics at the University of Texas, followed by further training at Columbia University and at Kelly Field. For three years following the war, he was general manager of the Board of Athletic Control at Stanford. He served as director of the San Francisco Community Chest, 1925–28, and for the next five years was manager of the Empresas Electricas Brasileiras at Recife, Maceio and Natal, Brazil. Since 1941 he has been general secretary of Stanford University.

Monroe E. Deutsch, a native of San Francisco, graduated from the University of California in 1902. In addition to receiving the scholastic degree of Ph.D. from that university in 1911, he has been the recipient of honorary degrees from several other institutions. Dr. Deutsch joined the faculty of the State University in 1907 as assistant in Greek, and in 1922 his skill in presenting the classics to twentieth century students was awarded by his appointment to the professorship of Latin. Besides his teaching duties, he has served his alma mater in many highly responsible administrative offices; for the past fifteen years he has been vice-president and provost of the university. The breadth of Dr. Deutsch's talents can be seen in the scope of his activities outside of Berkeley – professor of Latin at a University of Chicago summer session, annual professor at the American Academy in Rome, member of advisory councils at Yenching and at Lingnan universities in China, chevalier of the Legion of Honor in France, commander Order of Merit in Chile. In 1926, he edited Benjamin Ide Wheeler's *The Abundant Life*, and more recently was the author of *Our Legacy of Religious Freedom* (1941).

Alfred W. Eames was born in Los Angeles, studied at Stanford, and in 1911 graduated from Cornell with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Shortly after graduation he became manager of the Hawaiian Islands Packing Company of which his father was president, and in 1914 succeeded to the presidency himself. This company was taken over by "Cal. Pack." in 1917 with Mr. Eames as manager. In 1921 he was made vice-president of the California Packing Corporation, and since 1940 has been its president. Mr. Eames is a director of the Alaska Packers Association and of several canners' organizations both State and National.

Will R. Ernst is a native of Denver, but has lived most of his life in California. He has in fact made considerable study of certain phases of the

State's history, particularly mining and shipping. At present he is vice-president of the Carmel Canning Company, with offices in San Francisco.

Mrs. Zena G. Holman was born in North Dakota, in a sod house that had been built on land known as the Tea Cup Ranch from the cattle brand used by her father. She tells us the roof of the house was so sloping that occasionally sheep and cattle would walk up it, and her mother would have to take the children outside until the livestock decided to come down. Her parents were country school teachers by profession and continued to teach for a year or so after taking up their North Dakota government land. The country was wild – in fact, the wigwam poles of the Indians were still standing on their claim when they settled on it. Ill health drove the family to Red Bluff in California where Mrs. Holman received her elementary and high school education, graduating afterwards from the Oakland Polytechnic Business College. Mrs. Holman and her husband operate Holman's Department Store in Pacific Grove. Their duties do not prevent them from being avid collectors of Californiana and of Indian artifacts – the latter enthusiasm a throw-back, she thinks, to her parents' primitive North Dakota life.

Gerald D. Kennedy's family numbers among its members such well-known early names as Moffitt, Cushing, Lynch, Burke, and Driscoll, who have been identified with the Society of California Pioneers and the California Historical Society for many years. Mr. Kennedy is a San Franciscan by birth. Before entering the State University with the class of 1912, he completed his high school studies at the California School of Mechanical Arts, of which he now acts as a trustee. Mr. and Mrs. Kennedy live on the old Weber Ranch in Stockton, Mrs. Kennedy being the granddaughter of Captain Weber, the founder of Stockton. Here in 1944, at the time of the 100th anniversary of Capt. Weber's coming to California, the Kennedys entertained the members of this Society royally, as many of us well remember. Mr. Kennedy is a vice-president of the American Trust Company, in charge of their Stockton offices.

Adrian Michaelis, a native of San Francisco, is the grandson of Jacob Richard Leese and Carolina Estrada Leese; or, going back another generation, he is the great-grandson of Jacob Primer Leese and his wife Rosalia Vallejo (sister of the general), the above extremely interesting ancestry placing him in relationship with the Abregos, Estradas, and the Lugos, etc. Their present-day representative, Adrian Michaelis, was educated in the public schools of Oakland, and, shortly after graduating from the Oakland Technical High School, was employed by the Standard Oil Company of California to work on its two musical radio programmes – of both of which he is now program manager. [As a side-light on Mr. Michaelis' work in music, the reader is referred to a note in this issue of the Quarterly regarding one of his ancestors' pianos (Abrego), recently given to the Society.]

John E. Morris's grandfather, John W. Morris, crossed the plains from Pennsylvania in 1850, and subsequently became superintendent of road construction on one of the mountain divisions of the Central Pacific Railroad. His maternal grandfather was Gideon Woodward, a physician and surgeon and Dartmouth College graduate, who came to San Francisco in 1849 by way of Cape Horn. Seeing the crying need for living quarters in the mining days, he went into the hotel business (the Woodward Hotel) near Marysville. Their grandson, John E. Morris, a native of Santa Clara, has travelled extensively both in the Orient and in Europe. At the outbreak of World War I, he enlisted in the Signal Corps, U. S. A., and became an aviator as well as an instructor in aviation. In civilian life he has carried on a general investment business, changing in 1934 from bonds to investment real estate, in which he is still interested under the firm name of Morris, Courneen and Wiest.

De Witt O'Kieffe is a Minnesotan by birth. Upon graduation from Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana, he entered the advertising business, eventually becoming one of the organizers of the Leo Burnett Company, Inc., of Chicago. His leisure he spends in book-collecting. Mr. O'Kieffe tells us that this interest dates back to his late grade-school days, when it was his habit to bring home a bike-basket full of books from the school library to read during summer vacations. A few years ago, as a result of mixing business with travel in the West, the books he brought home began to be concerned chiefly with California, until now his personal collection is assuming large proportions. Mr. O'Kieffe has been a contributor to old *Judge* and other humor magazines and to *Life*.

W. Stanley Pearce, a native of the historic island of St. Kitts (or St. Christopher, which, it will be remembered, was discovered by Columbus in 1493), arrived in this State in 1931. Shortly thereafter, he says, he became interested in the history of California, and it is a source of satisfaction to him that his studies led him to assist with enthusiasm the late president of the California Historical Society, Mr. Cavalier, in his campaign to raise matching funds for the restoration of the mining town of Columbia. Mr. Pearce has been with the Fireman's Fund Insurance Company since 1916, and now holds the office of secretary of that organization and its affiliated insurance companies. In addition to these duties, he is the editor of their house organ, the well-known Fireman's Fund Record.

Since his birth in Evanston, Illinois, Edward Hotchkiss Post has seen considerable change of locale in what is customarily called home. From Evanston, the family went to Genoa, Illinois, then to Chicago, then to Redlands, California, and lastly to Palo Alto. After his graduation from the Palo Alto High School, he worked six years for the Selby Smelting and Lead Company or until 1916, when he entered the employ of the Crown

Zellerbach Corporation, with whom he has been associated continuously ever since. [The name of Mr. Post's grandfather, Edward Hotchkiss, will have a familiar sound to many readers of the Quarterly, for in the June 1933 issue the Society published his letters written in 1850 from Sacramento, Benicia, San Francisco, commenting on trade prospects and other matters as he found them in California. Through the courtesy of his son, Mr. Stuart R. Hotchkiss of Redlands, these letters are now in the collection of the California Historical Society.]

Howard S. Reed graduated with the class of 1903 from the University of Michigan where later he completed the requirements for the Ph.D. Before coming to the University of California (Citrus Experiment Station at Riverside) in 1915, he taught plant pathology in Michigan and in Virginia, and acted as expert both for the U. S. Bureau of Soils and the Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station. Dr. Reed has been on the Berkeley campus as professor of plant physiology since 1935. He has taught also abroad as guest professor at the Institute de Botanique in Geneva, Switzerland, and has been a member of various foreign and international technical commissions meeting in London, Athens, and in Paris. His writings include some 175 papers on the subject of plant physiology. Besides this original work, he was for many years associate editor of the University of California Publications in Agricultural Science. In 1942 the Chronica Botanica Company of Waltham, Massachusetts, published Dr. Reed's *Short History of the Plant Sciences.*

Mrs. Aurelia Henry Reinhardt, president emeritus of Mills College, was born in San Francisco, the daughter of parents who came to California in their early youth, her mother across the plains from Ohio, her father around the Horn from Vermont. After her graduation from the University of California, Mrs. Reinhardt went to Yale where she received her Ph.D. degree. For a few years after her marriage to Dr. George Frederick Reinhardt, she devoted herself to her husband and her two small sons. When her husband died, however, she returned to her educational work and lectured for the University of California Extension Division. In 1916 she became president of Mills College, which position she held for twenty-seven years – a period that witnessed growth in educational ideas at the college and increased physical equipment. Mrs. Reinhardt has received honorary degrees from the University of California, Mount Holyoke, Oberlin, and others. She has many local (East Bay Regional Park Commission, Alameda County Charities Commission, etc.) and international interests, especially in the Orient – notably the California Colleges in China Foundation and the Institute of Pacific Relations. After she retired from Mills College, Mrs. Reinhardt made an extended trip through Mexico and South America. Since her return she has been residing in San Francisco, where she has been giving a course on "Aspects of American History." Among her writings are a translation with notes of the *Monarchia* of Dante and translations from old English poetry.

William C. Waack, whose name appeared in the September list of new members, was born in the "Mission" district of San Francisco. He is a U. S. Navy veteran of World War I, a labor representative and organizer of the American Federation of Labor, and the owner of the Mission Antique Shop. Mr. Waack is a student of the early shipping on the west coast, inland as well as offshore. This historical attitude of mind combined with his present-day labor experience should result in a valuable study some day for the QUARTERLY.

The editors hope to publish additional notes on the new members, listed above, in the next issue of the Quarterly.

For several years, Mrs. Gertrude A. Steger, president of the Shasta County Historical Society, has been making a study of the names of places in her part of the country. The result of this interesting but extremely demanding work, *Place Names of Shasta County*, dedicated to the pioneers of Shasta County, is now offered to the public in a volume of 81 pages (including six which list her source material). Mrs. Steger's publishers are the Redding Printing Company.

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CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
SAN FRANCISCO

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